

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS OPERA.

VOL. VIII.

DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE LIBER

EDITED

BY

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WITH AN INDEX TO VOLS. I.-IV. AND VIII.

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

The seventh volume of this edition of Giraldus Cambrensis was announced on its appearance as the last. As, however, the *Liber de Principis Instructione* was still lacking to complete the full tale of his works, an eighth volume is now added, which, besides supplying this omission, includes a much-needed Index to the first four volumes, edited by the late Rev. J. S. Brewer.[1]

Like several others that have preceded it, the treatise above named has unfortunately survived in a single copy only, though it has not in addition suffered from the ravages of fire, like the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, or from the loss of many of its chapters, like the *Liber de Gestis*. The volume in which it is preserved is Cotton MS. Julius B. xiii. in the British Museum. This is a small vellum folio of 173 leaves, the last 126 of which (ff. 48–173) contain the work in question. The earlier quires (ff. 2–40) are occupied by a series of chronological tables, which, after a few introductory paragraphs, give the succession of patriarchs, kings, emperors, etc., from the Creation downwards. Among them (ff. 19, 28) are two lists of popes, both of which end with Honorius II. (1124–1130), the second list being further continued in a later hand to the eleventh year of Innocent III., 1208. As, moreover, Lothair II. (1125–1137) figures as the reigning emperor, and Louis VI. (1108–1137) and Henry I. as kings of France and England respectively,

[1] In using the index it must be remembered that it does not include the contents of vols. v.–vii., edited by the late Rev. J. F. Dimock, each of which has an index to itself.

the date of composition must lie in or about 1130. The contents of ff. 41–47 are of a somewhat different character, consisting of brief notes of events, year by year, from the beginning of our era. In the present condition of the MS. they end in A.D. 249, but the last entry is cut short at the bottom of f. 47b, and the chronicle, when perfect, no doubt extended considerably further. At the top of f. 2, the first page of the text, is written, in a hand of about A.D. 1600, "Epitomæ his-" "toriæ Rogeri Waldon." though on what grounds this title was inserted, and how much matter it is meant to cover, I am unable to say. The only Roger Walden of whom we possess any knowledge died Bishop of London in 1405, while the handwriting of the MS. down to f. 40 is of the latter part of the 12th century, and ff. 41–47 are at latest of the beginning of the 13th. As far as f. 27 the same tables are found in Harley MS. 1312, which is also of the 12th century; and as they there form a complete work, without the second table of popes and emperors included here at f. 28, they are probably distinct from the latter, as well as from the fragmentary chronicle that follows. In the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* (1808) they are attributed, for some reason not stated, to Roger de Waltham; but the author's identity is not more easy to determine under this name than under that of Walden. At the same time, there is no need to dwell on this portion of the Cotton MS. It is in fact more than a century older than the portion which contains the treatise of Giraldus here edited, and, except that it happens to be enclosed between the same covers, it has apparently nothing to do with it. From an inscription in a 14th century hand at the bottom of the first page,[1] it appears to have belonged to Deeping

[1] "Liber de prioratu Sancti Jakobi " de Estdeping." At the end of the Register of Deeping Priory in Harley MS. 3,658 is a catalogue of the library (f. 74b.), in a hand of about the same date as this inscription, but this particular volume is not included.

Priory, in Lincolnshire, which was a cell to Thorney Abbey; but there is nothing to connect the later MS. with which it is bound up with the same house, and the union of the two in one volume probably dates only from the time of Sir Robert Cotton.

As already stated, the *Liber de Principis Instructione* extends from f. 48 to the end of the volume. It is written in double columns, in a rather rough and ill-formed hand of about the middle of the 14th century. The headings of the chapters are in red, having first been minutely entered in the margin as a guide for the rubricator. The principal initials are in red and blue, ornamented with light scrolls and flourishes, and many of the smaller initials in the body of the text are of the same colours alternately. No general title is prefixed to the work, and the author's name is nowhere mentioned. This, however, "Gerardus Cambrensis," has been supplied in a charter-hand of the same period at the top of the first page, though for that matter the internal evidence renders it wholly superfluous. In the text of the manuscript there are serious defects. The scribe must have been at once a bad Latin scholar and a shockingly careless copyist. As may be seen from the footnotes, grammatical and other blunders of every kind abound, and care was not even taken to ensure that the rubrics agreed with the table of chapters prefixed to each book. In most cases the proper readings can be restored without difficulty, and have been introduced into the text; but there are a few passages too corrupt to be safely meddled with, and they have therefore been printed just as they stand in the MS.

Although no other copy of the work is known to have survived, some portions of it have been also preserved to us by other mediæval writers. The only one, indeed, who made direct use of it seems to have been Higden, who includes it in the list of his authorities under the author's name and the title "Vita regis Henrici Secundi

"sub triplici Distinctione,"[1] and embodies numerous extracts from it in the text of his *Polychronicon*. These were in turn copied by the compilers Knighton and Bromton, who, however, did not follow Higden's example in indicating the source from which they came.

The most valuable portions have also appeared in print in other forms. Extracts from the surviving MS. were first published in Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens*, etc., vol. xviii. (1822), pp. 121–163, edited by Dom Michel Brial. According to the preface these extracts were derived from a transcript furnished by the Abbé Pierre de Bettencourt. A fuller and more handy edition, with the title *Giraldus Cambrensis de Instructione Principum*,[2] was printed for the Anglia Christiana Society of London in 1846. This was edited, under initials, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, and included the second and third of the three books complete, together with a short appendix of extracts from the first. In the present edition it was originally intended to give the first book, as well as the other two, without curtailment; and although, for reasons that will presently appear, this design has not been strictly adhered to, for all practical purposes the whole work may be regarded as now made available.

So far at least as regards the form which it ultimately assumed, and in which alone it has come down to us, the motive of Giraldus for publishing his treatise on the Instruction of a Prince is frankly avowed in the preface. It was directed, he there tells us, against the princes of his own time—in other words, against Henry II. and his sons—with a side-glance also at those prelates, or princes of the church, whose conduct was equally

[1] Rolls ed., vol. i. p. 24. The only other works of Giraldus which he names are the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Itinerarium Cambriæ*.

[2] Giraldus himself always uses the singular "Principis," and it has accordingly been retained in the present edition.

obnoxious to censure.[1] But this was not the intention with which he originally set out; and there is a marked difference in treatment between the first Book, or, to use his own term, Distinction, and the other two. Apart from the preface, which is obviously of late date, the first book is almost wholly didactic and academical, the chapters dealing one by one with the several virtues that go to form the perfect prince, but without any personal application. From an historical point of view therefore it is of little value, save indeed for the anecdotes and incidental allusions from which all the author's writings derive so much of their interest. Such, for example, in this book alone, are his stories of Edward the Confessor,[2] Louis VII. of France,[3] and St. Thomas[4]; and, again, his account of the manner in which Robert of Cricklade,[5] prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, convicted the Jews of falsifying MSS. of

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[1] "Tales itaque principes tales- "que prælati nostro nunc causam "calamo donant," p. 6.

[2] p. 129.

[3] p. 131.

[4] p. 83.

[5] p. 65. Giraldus calls him Robert only, but there is no doubt who is meant. He speaks of having himself seen him as an old man, the end of his career coinciding with the beginning of his own. There has been great uncertainty among writers as to his period. He is said to have succeeded Wimund as Prior of St. Frideswide's in 1130 or 1141 (Dugdale, vi. p. 135). It is more certain that he held the office in the time of Adrian IV. (1154–1159), who addressed a Bull to him as prior (*ib.* p. 147); and Kennett prints another Bull to him from the next pope, Alexander III., of uncertain date, but probably not before 1165 (*Paroch. Antiq.*, 1695, p. 116). Sir T. D. Hardy dates his death in or about 1160, and adds that he "certainly died before "Becket" (*Cat. Brit. Hist.*, ii. p. 291). This, however, is disproved by an interesting letter in which he describes his cure from a disease, contracted while he was in Sicily, by a visit to Becket's tomb (Robertson, *Mat. for Hist. of T. Becket*, ii. p. 97). As one Philip occurs as prior in 1880, he must have died before then (Dugdale, ii. p. 136). Among other works he wrote an abridgment of Pliny's Natural History (B.M., Royal MS. 15 C. xiv.) with a preface addressed to Henry II. Giraldus, it may be noted, does not say that he saw Prior Robert at Oxford; and it cannot therefore be inferred from this passage that he visited the university before the famous occasion when he recited his *Topographia Hibernica* (vol. i, pp. 72, 410; vol. v. p. li.)

Josephus, and his narrative of the discovery and opening of the tomb of king Arthur at Glastonbury.[1] There is much, too, that is curious and suggestive in what he says on the ancient and modern laws and practice as to wrecks,[2] and on the enactments of the French penal code.[3] But with these and like exceptions, what interest the book possesses is mainly subjective. The author himself and his versatile powers have had full justice done to them in the preceding volumes.[4] It need only therefore be remarked here that more perhaps than any other of his writings this particular section of the Instruction of a Prince exhibits his scholarly side, throwing light on the nature and extent of the studies to which he was devoted,[5] and to which by his own account he sacrificed his chances of preferment. The method he adopts in it is somewhat peculiar. After a few sentences on the particular virtue under discussion, he proceeds to enforce it with a crowd of quotations, drawn indiscriminately from sacred and profane sources, and more or less loosely connected together. The familiarity he thus displays with the Vulgate, Fathers, and later theological writers is in itself remarkable; but it is nothing compared with the range of his reading in the Latin classics. From Plautus, indeed, to Boethius there is scarcely an author of any note who is not laid under contribution; and, although many of his quotations are inaccurate and not a few wrongly attributed, even this is so far in his favour that it suggests that he relied

[1] p. 126.

[2] p. 119. See also vol. iii. p. 136, where he is equally severe on the inhumanity of his own day. That others felt with him may be inferred from Richard's renunciation in 1190 of the royal right to wreck in favour of the saved and the heirs of the lost (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 139).

[3] p. 37.

[4] See especially Mr. Brewer's preface to vol. i.

[5] "Nihil enim tunc ambiebat, "nihil amplius habere volebat, "quod studium ipsius, in quo fere "semper assiduus et continuus "erat, impediret," etc., vol. i. p. 87.

more on memory (as he certainly did in citing the Vulgate) than on the aid of commonplace-books. At the same time he undoubtedly in some cases obtained his quotations at second-hand. He makes free use, for instance, of the *Moralis Philosophia* of Hildebert of Le Mans,[1] a work which, like his own, is largely made up of passages from the classics. But the predecessor to whom he was most indebted was Hugo Floriacensis, so called from the abbey of Fleury, of which house he was a member. Among other works the Fleury monk wrote a general chronicle commonly known as the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Of this compilation he issued two editions, both of which are still extant. The first, in four books and ending with the death of Charles the Great in 814, appeared in 1109. Immediately after, having found a copy of the *Historia Tripartita*, he recast his work with its aid and re-issued it in 1110, divided now into six books and brought down to 855.[2] From this second edition Giraldus borrowed without scruple, though, after the fashion of his times, he did not think it incumbent on him to make any acknowledgment. The full extent of his obligations may be estimated from the small type in which they are here printed, the latter part of the chronicle being embodied in his text almost entire. His extracts are mostly concerned with the Roman emperors and the early Carlovingians, but they include also long passages treating of the Amazons, Scythians, and Parthians, and of Mahomet and the Saracens. As might be supposed, their relevancy to his subject is sometimes doubtful, though his idea evidently was to use the work as a mine of examples of good and evil rulers.

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[1] See pp. 29, 31, 33, 35.

[2] See G. Waitz in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix. pp. 337 sqq. I have used Rottendorff's edition, *Hugonis Floriacensis . . . Chronicon*, etc., Münster, 1638, only the prologues and later matter being printed in the *Monumenta*.

The book thus consisting mainly of moral reflexions, interspersed with historical excerpts of little value, it became a question how it should be treated in editing. To print the whole of it intact as part of an historical series was almost impossible; while, on the other hand, if the Instruction of a Prince was to be included in this edition of Giraldus at all, it seemed advisable to present it as nearly as might be in the form in which it was issued by himself, rather than to suppress the first book altogether or to give a few isolated passages from it detached from their context. Under these circumstances I have compromised matters as best I could. Whenever a long string of Biblical texts occurs, I have given the references only, and in many cases I have done the same with classical and other quotations, indicating, if necessary, the nature of the omitted matter. Nothing, however, so far as I am aware, has been sacrificed which is of any importance, either in itself or in its bearing on the course of argument, and it will probably be thought that a good deal more might have been easily spared.

But before parting company with this first book, its date of composition and its relation to the two more strictly historical books that follow have to be considered. More than one account is given by Giraldus of the *Liber de Principis Instructione* in his other works. Thus in the list of his writings given in his letter to the chapter of Hereford he says of it,[1] "Post monita vero " suscepta, grata plurimum et accepta, maturioribus " studiis atque majoribus animum applicando, librum " *de Principis Instructione,* multis auctoritatibus, tam " philosophicis quam theologicis, per exempla pariter " et præcepta studioso labore compaginatum, longisque " lucubrationibus elaboratum, edere curavi"; and again in the *Catalogus Brevior,*[2] "Item, *Liber de* " *Principis Instructione,* totiens promissus, fere inter

[1] Vol. i. p. 415.

[2] Vol. i. p. 423.

"primos inchoatus, inter ultimos autem propalatus, "diu nimium clausus et sopitus, quando tute prodire "posset plurimis annorum curriculis tempus exspec- "tans; liberaliter quidem et non livide legenti labor "sua quoque laude non indignus." Words almost identical with these last are used also in the *Dialogus de Jure Menevensis Ecclesiæ*[1]; while at the end of the same work the author further declares that he published the *De Principis Instructione* when he was about seventy years of age.[2] In all these passages, written quite late in life, he is obviously speaking of the complete work, and, as he was born in or about 1147,[3] its publication can be dated with some approach to exactness. There are other grounds too, besides the above statement, for fixing it in 1217, or soon after. Considering the nature of the references to king John, it could hardly have been issued before without risk, and there is internal evidence that in the only form in which it survives it did not see the light until he was safe in his tomb.

On the other hand, there was not the same reason for keeping back the first book, which is harmless enough. As Giraldus says above, although the work

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[1] Vol. iii. p. 334.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 373, "*Dialogus* "autem præsens, una cum libello "*De Principis Institutione* toties "promisso, diu nimirum valde "diligenter atque latenter, hye- "malibus lucubrationibus crebris, "juxta veritatem historicam et, "quæ veris parcere non novit, "severitatem elaborato, ideoque "tam sero prodire in publicum et "proferre caput denique vix auso, "tanquam anno ætatis nostræ "septuagesimo."

[3] Mr. Brewer (vol. i. p. x.) fixes his birth in 1147, "with a proba- "bility amounting almost to cer- "tainty," relying on his own statement that on his first election as bishop of St. David's in 1176 he was not yet thirty (vol. i. p. 41). Mr. Dimock (vol. v. p. lvi.) is less positive, Giraldus being notoriously inexact in his dates. Neither of them refers to the curious passage in the present work (p. 292), where, in narrating what happened to him at Paris on the night of King Philip's birth in August, 1165, he says he was then about twenty.

as a whole was published among the latest of his productions, it was begun among the earliest, and it is natural that he should allude more particularly to the book foremost in order. With so much in this that smacks of the schools, its inception might possibly date from his residence at Paris in 1177–1180, though hardly from his still earlier stay there from about 1165 to 1172. We need not, however, go back quite so far. If we exclude such juvenile efforts as the *Chronographia Metrica*,[1] his earliest known works are the famous two on Ireland, which were both written between 1186 and 1189. He might fairly therefore use the language he does of the *De Principis Instructione*, if it was not begun until about 1190, and in fact it would seem to have been mainly composed later even than this. From the way it speaks of Louis, heir of Philip of France, the preface now prefixed to the first book could hardly have been written before 1216; but this preface is not the original one. Another, which was evidently displaced to make room for it, but which the author was loth to let perish, is preserved in the collection he made of his choice pieces known as the *Symbolum Electorum*, and is for the most part printed in this volume for the first time.[2] Although, like the book to which it properly belongs, overcrowded with Biblical and other quotations (all of which I have not thought it worth while to reproduce), it includes much of curious interest for the author's biography. Beginning with a sharply drawn comparison of court and school, all to the advantage of the latter, he

[1] Vol. i. pp. 414, 421.

[2] See Appendix, p. lvii. It is in MS. R. 7. 11 at Trinity College, Cambridge, of the 13–14th cent. An extract from it, "Ad curiam "igitur . . . locum illustrat," was given by David Powell in his Life of Giraldus prefixed to the edition of the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* in Camden's *Anglica, Normannica*, etc., Frankfort, 1603, p. 817. This was reprinted from Powell by Mr. Brewer, *De Instr. Princ.* 1846, p. 184. In his edition of the *Symbolum Electorum* in this series he printed only the opening words, vol. i. p. 394.

goes on to lament that he had been lured from one to the other by royal promises and blandishments, and reveals the measure of his hopes by the bitterness of his resentment at their frustration and at his treatment in general, which to a great extent, as he alleges, was due to his Welsh extraction. From the *Liber de Gestis* [1] we know that he was called to court and made a royal clerk or chaplain in 1184, but the date of his retirement, of which he proceeds to speak, is not so easily ascertained. Wharton [2] and Mr. Brewer after him fix it in 1192, while Mr. Dimock postpones it as late as 1196.[3] The time is roughly indicated here by his saying that he had spent about ten years [4] with Henry II. and his successor. This period, during which he received from his patrons, as he complains, nothing but barren vexations and unfulfilled promises, no doubt also includes his service with the queen-mother Eleanor [5] and John during Richard's absence in the East. In one of his letters [6] he speaks with more exactness of having been seven years at court. This, however, only proves that his stay was at least so long, as he is not alluding to his retirement, and there is nothing in the sense of the passage to show that he did not remain longer. Elsewhere,[7] in explaining how he came to retire to Lincoln, he tells us that he was diverted from going to Paris, as he at

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[1] ii. cap. 8, vol. i. p. 57. The whole chapter (together with ii. 24, p. 87, and iii. 1, p. 89) may be compared with the preface from the *Symb. Elect.* He speaks of Henry's being at the time near the border for the pacification of Wales. This was in July, 1184, when Rhys ab Gruffudd made his submission at Worcester.

[2] *Anglia Sacra*, Pars ii. p. 374; and for Mr. Brewer, vol. i. pp. lvi. xcviii. Their only ostensible reason for naming 1192 is that he speaks of his retirement immediately after narrating matters occurring in that year.

[3] Vol. v. p. liii. note 2, where it is pointed out that in a letter written in the autumn of 1198 he speaks of having been then *two years* at Lincoln.

[4] "duo fere lustra," p. lvii.

[5] *Symb. Elect.*, in vol. i. pp. 203, 295.

[6] *Symb. Elect.*, in vol. i. p. 205, "sumptuosos septennalis obsequii "in curia . . . labores."

[7] *De Gestis*, iii. 3, vol. i. p. 93.

first intended, by the renewal of hostilities between Richard and Philip of France, which he had heard were terminated by a five years' truce. This points rather to 1194, when a truce, though for one year only, was made in July and annulled in September.[1] Richard being named personally, it must, one would think, have been after he returned from captivity, which he did in the previous March; and possibly there may have been some connexion between his return and the withdrawal of Giraldus, who, as a "familiar" at this time of John[2] and a bitter enemy of Longchamp, was not likely to be a *persona grata.* At the same time, it is quite possible that he merely alludes to Philip's threatened or actual hostilities during Richard's absence, and more especially to his invasion of Normandy in March-April, 1193.[3] Be that as it may, it is clear from this preface that the work was mainly, if not entirely, composed after Giraldus left court,[4] and no doubt during his studious seclusion at Lincoln, which lasted until 1199. There is, moreover, this much to be said in favour of an earlier date for his retirement than 1194, that even the third book is referred to as projected, if not in existence, in his *Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi.* This work was almost certainly written in 1193, and in the course of it[5] he states that he refrains from giving particulars of the death of Henry II., as the subject will be fully treated in the *Liber de Principis Instructione,* "quem " . . studiosus animus edere proposuit."

But to return to the first book, one thing is tolerably certain from what we know of the author. As a moral treatise this is complete in itself, and, once written, he was not the man to keep it from the public without

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[1] Hoveden, iii. pp. 257, 267. Much the same thing, however, occurred both in 1195 and 1196 (*ib.* p. 301, iv. p. 34.)

[2] *De Gestis,* ii. 23, vol. i. p. 86.

[3] Hoveden, iii. pp. 205, 206.

[4] See the passage on p. lix. beginning, "Porro quoniam satius est sero pœnitere."

[5] Vol. iv. p. 371.

very good cause, having far too exalted an opinion of his own learning and literary ability. Mr. Brewer[1] argues that there were two editions of the whole three books, the passages reflecting most severely on John, and in terms implying that he was already dead, being peculiar to the second edition. As will be seen lower down[2], there is something to be said for this view; but we must then conclude that there were three editions altogether, since the first book appears to have been originally issued by itself. That this was so might almost be inferred from the discarded preface already noticed, but the final sentence in the book[3] hardly leaves room for doubt. After saying that he ends with the same words as Ecclesiasticus, Giraldus goes on in his high-flown style:—"But as for the two Distinctions "following, which treat of the successes and glory of a "certain prince of our own time, and of the after fall of "the same prince in ignominy, these are not yet fully and "finally written and polished, and it seemed advisable "therefore that, while the tempest rages and gathers "force, they should meantime remain in hiding and "keep themselves from the touch, sight, and hearing "of all, that so, existing as though they existed not, "they may await a safer and serener season for going "out into public, until the clouds and mists be dispelled "and a brighter and clearer sun illumine the face of "heaven and the surface of the earth." Unless the book to which they are appended was issued in the first instance without the other two, these words have no meaning; whereas, if such was the case, they are just what Giraldus, who had a keen eye for effect, might have written to whet curiosity for the more exciting matter held in reserve. That this object, moreover, was attained we may infer from the phrase "toties promis-"sus" which he several times applies to the complete

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[1] *De Instr. Princ.*, 1846, p. xiv.
[2] p. li.
[3] p. 149. It is noticed neither by Mr. Brewer nor in Bouquet.

work, for he was no doubt continually urged to fulfil his declared intentions. As to the date of this first and partial edition, we are left wholly in the dark. Those passages in the book which are obviously of late date were most probably inserted in the later complete edition; and no argument therefore can be drawn from the anecdote told of Louis when in England in 1216,[1] or from the still more interesting paragraphs on William of Scotland ending with advice addressed to his son Alexander, who succeeded him in 1214.[2] The only clue to the time of issue seems to lie in the epilogue, but whether the "tempest" there mentioned refers to the troubles of Richard's reign, as depicted in the *Vita Galfridi*, or of John's, or even to the more personal contest for the see of St. David's in which Giraldus was himself engaged between 1198 and 1204, it is impossible to say.

Passing on now to the second and third books we are immediately in a different atmosphere. Whether at the outset Giraldus contemplated more than the one book may be doubted; the preface in the *Symbolum Electorum* certainly gives no hint of anything beyond. Fortunately, however, for the interest of his writings, Giraldus had a passion for enforcing precept by example; and there was the further attraction here that, by selecting the most conspicuous figure of his own times, he could at once point his moral most effectively and pay off old scores of his own. It is easy therefore to understand how the later and more important part of the work came to be added, even if it did not enter into the original design. Its proper subject is fairly indicated in the passage last above quoted. Briefly put, it is the rise and fall—and more especially the fall—of Henry II., who is held up throughout for an

[1] p. 133. This is very awkwardly interpolated between two anecdotes of his grandfather.

[2] p. 138.

awful example of the Nemesis attending the neglect of the rules of conduct laid down for a prince in the book preceding.

For a task of the kind Giraldus was exceptionally well equipped. Born, as I have said, in or about 1147, he had lived all through Henry's reign, and was in the full vigour of his powers when it reached its disastrous close. He was brought into personal contact with him at least as early as 1176,[1] and from 1184 onwards he was formally attached to his court. He evidently knew him well, and had studied him closely.[2] He was equally well acquainted with his sons, including the bastard Geoffrey; and he lived on terms of easy familiarity with such prominent men in the state as Baldwin, the archbishop, and Ranulph de Glanville, the justiciar. He was no monk chronicling events as seen from the cloisters and mainly engrossed with the fortunes of his own house, but a secular clerk and a man of the world, of good blood, both Norman and Welsh, well versed in affairs, and of restless energy, moving within the immediate sphere of political interest, and in touch with the principal actors. And to these advantages of situation and surroundings he added others personal to himself. He had keen powers of observation, quick wit, and a ready pen; his faculties had been trained in the schools of Paris, then second to none, and his mind was richly stored with such learning as the age could furnish. Yet with all this his character was marred by grave defects. His egotism was unbounded. With a warm heart, generous instincts, and a real hatred of tyranny and wrong-doing, he was passionate, prejudiced, and vindictive. No one, king or subject, who crossed his schemes, or whom he chose to regard as his enemy, could hope for his good word, and his genuinely Celtic powers of invective were unsparingly wielded. Being

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[1] *De Gestis*, i. 7, vol. i. p. 39.

[2] See the elaborate portrait of him, p. 213, repeated here from the *Expugnatio Hibernica*.

what and where he was, it cannot be said that he made the most of his subject. Had he so chosen, he might have enriched posterity with a full history of Henry's reign, leaving the facts to convey their own lesson. Instead of this he has given us what from different points of view may be regarded as a political pamphlet or an historical tragedy, selecting and disposing his materials with the main object of heightening the effect and without much regard for chronological sequence. But, although as a history the work is fragmentary, discursive, and one-sided, it could ill be dispensed with. Excepting extracts from his other works and a long passage from the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi,* it appears to be quite independent, and many of its details are not recorded in any form by other authorities. Its interest lies in its personal anecdotes, its vivid episodes, and its revelations of character, and without it, due allowance being made for over-colouring, much of the picturesque side of the period would have been lost to us.

Over Henry's earlier years Giraldus passes lightly. He does little more indeed than enumerate the favours lavished on him by Heaven until he proved himself unworthy. Such were the opportune deaths of his actual and possible rivals, his subjugation of Ireland and the concessions he wrung from William the Lion, his vast continental dominions (to which, we are told, he aspired to add the imperial dignity),[1] and his universal fame as the greatest monarch of his time. But the keynote of the indictment against him is struck almost immediately. The foremost count in it is his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of his feudal lord Louis VII. and, as is alleged further on,[2] the paramour of his own father Geoffrey. But this crime, which found its fitting retribution in the conduct of his sons, is only one out of many. His character generally is

[1] p. 157.

[2] See below, p. xlix.

summed up in a few bitter lines directly after:—" From " beginning to end an oppressor of the nobility; weigh- " ing right and wrong, what is lawful and unlawful, " by his own interest; a seller and delayer of justice; " shifty in speech and full of craft; readily breaking, " not his word only, but his pledged honour and his " oath; an open adulterer; an ingrate towards God and " without devotion; a hammer of the church, and " born to destruction."[1]

Thus Henry's treatment of the church was the climax of his iniquities; nor is it without some truth that in the next paragraph the martyrdom of St. Thomas is represented as the turning-point of his career, when, as Giraldus expresses it, Fortune's wheel began to incline downwards. This was a subject on which he felt all the more strongly as he had rather ostentatiously taken Becket for a model, his ambition evidently being to play at St. David's somewhat the same part as the other had played at Canterbury. Henry, however, was too shrewd and well-advised to give him the chance. He had suffered too much already from one error in the reading of character to be a second time deceived; while Giraldus was too impulsive not to let his real sentiments be easily divined, even if they were not actually blurted out. Thus it was that, when in 1176 the see of St. David's fell vacant and the chapter, without waiting for the royal mandate, elected him bishop, Henry at once put a stop to the project in an explosion of wrath.[2] At the same time, there is no reason to suppose that he had any dislike for Giraldus personally. Although the fiery archdeacon was probably called to court rather from policy, to keep him out of mischief and to utilize him

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[1] Dist. ii. cap. 3, p. 160. This is one of the passages extracted by Higden, vol. viii. p. 22, followed by Knighton and Bromton. For a discussion of the various authorities on Henry's character, see Dr. Stubbs's preface to vol. ii. of Benedict (*Gesta Regis Henrici*), p. xxvii.

[2] *De Gestis*, i. 9, vol. i. p. 41.

on occasion as an intermediary with the Welsh princes, than from any special goodwill, the freedom he used with the king would hardly have been ventured upon, had he not felt tolerably sure of his ground. But, however acceptable as a minor church-dignitary, for his attractive personal qualities, and at times too as a butt for Henry's caustic wit, he was not to be thought of for the principal Welsh bishopric, to which alone he aspired. It was not that his aim was wholly selfish. His ambition was quite as much for the see as for himself; and in his zeal to prosecute its metropolitan claims and to create or resuscitate an independent Welsh church he was probably prepared to go all lengths, to intrigue with the native princes and to preach defiance to his impressionable and not yet completely pacified fellow-countrymen. Though he was no St. Thomas, this was nevertheless a real danger, which Henry was not likely to overlook. In acting therefore as he did, he undoubtedly consulted for his own interests and for the tranquillity of Wales; but Giraldus never forgave him, and the fact must be borne in mind in reading his virulent diatribes.

Of the history of the struggle between the king and archbishop he adds little to the passage on the subject in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, which is the first of the many extracts from that work and the *Topographia* copied into the present treatise. Henry, however, being dead, he is less chary than before of blaming him personally for the final tragedy, even insinuating a doubt of the truth of his abjuration of actual complicity made to the papal legates. Still, with all his desire to depict Henry at his worst, he does not go quite so far as in the *Vita S. Remigii*,[1] where he narrates how Tracy declared in confession that the four assassins were bound by the king on

[1] Vol. vii. p. 60. The first edition of this work appears to have been written in 1198, and the second was presented to archbishop Langton in 1213 or 1214 (*ib.*, p. xi.).

oath to commit the crime. After this the only distinct success with which Henry is credited is his triumph over the coalition formed against him in 1173. It was, indeed, too complete to be ignored; but Giraldus attributes it, not to the energy of Henry himself and his supporters, but solely to the penance to which he submitted at the martyr's tomb on 12th July, 1174, which was followed the next day by the capture of William the Lion at Alnwick. But with the danger, we are told, Henry's penitent fit passed off. "Ascribing all to his own arm and not to "God's mercy, like a second Pharaoh he hardened his "heart and plunged incorrigibly into yet greater depths "of vice."[1] The particular instances of depravity adduced are his imprisonment of queen Eleanor,[2] his living in now open adultery with Rosamond,[3] and his evading his promised visit to Jerusalem. This last is one of the author's weightiest charges, to which, as to Henry's treatment of Becket, he continually reverts. The compact, he declares, had been made by Henry with Louis VII. early in his reign[4]; but he quotes for its terms the treaty of Ivry, which was concluded in 1177. Before this

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[1] p. 165.

[2] There is no hint of the leading part she is said to have taken in the events of 1173 (Gervase, i. p. 242).

[3] This statement helps to fix the period of Henry's most famous amour, and, as Dr. Stubbs remarks (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. xxxi. n. 1), disposes of two legends, that she was the mother of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and that Eleanor made away with her. Geoffrey was born in or before 1153 (below, p. xlii. n. 1), and Eleanor was in confinement, if not before the connexion began, certainly before it ended by Rosamond's death. In quoting Giraldus, Higden (viii. p. 52) adds a notice of her retreat at Woodstock, etc., which is thus translated by Trevisa: "To þis faire wenche "þe kyng made at Wodestoke a "chambre of wonder craft, won-"derliche i-made by Dedalus "werke, leste þe queene schulde "fynde and take Rosamounde; "but þe wenche deide sone," etc. (*ib.*, p. 53). The clue of silk, dagger and bowl, and all the rest of it are still later additions to the legend (see art. on Ros. Clifford in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*).

[4] "Circa prima regni sui tem-"pora," p. 166. It is in connexion with his delay in carrying out this vow that Giraldus characterizes him as "dilator in omnibus," *ib.*

the pilgrimage had been imposed on the king in 1172 as a penance for his indirect share in Becket's murder, and he incurs the author's wrath for purchasing a further respite at Rome after the three years of grace at the price of founding three religious houses. The way he fulfilled the obligation at the least possible cost to himself was thoroughly characteristic. For one foundation, he changed the secular canons of Waltham into regulars; for another, he expelled the nuns of Amesbury and replaced them with a colony from Fontevraud; as for the third, Giraldus can only suggest that it may have been the poor Charterhouse at Witham.[1] This is told in the author's most pungent style, ending with an outburst on the futility of the attempt thus to outwit the Almighty. The next events summarily noticed, by way of showing how Henry's stubborn heart was not to be moved by affliction, are the rebellions and deaths of his sons Henry and Geoffrey in 1183 and 1186. With regard to the latter, in attributing his death to fever,[2] Giraldus differs from Benedict, who says that he was killed in a tournament[3]; and he adds some curious particulars also of the frantic grief of Philip of France at his funeral. In both cases his sympathies are evidently with the sons as against the father. This is especially shown in what he says of the younger Henry,

[1] p. 170. The changes at Amesbury and Waltham were effected on 22nd May and 11th June, 1177 (*Gesta Hen.*, i. pp. 165, 174). The Amesbury nuns are said to have been expelled by a papal mandate for loose living, which gives occasion to a sarcasm of Ralph Niger, quoted by Dr. Stubbs (*ib.*, ii. p. xxx, n. 4). The history of Witham is told more favourably to Henry in the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (ed. Dimock), Hugh having been the third Prior. The editor (p. xxii.) infers that Henry brought him over to England for the purpose in or shortly after 1175; and, as his two predecessors held office for a very short time, the foundation was not much earlier.

[2] p. 176. On p. 302, in connexion with a prophetic verse, he remarks upon the fact that Henry himself and the two sons who predeceased him all died of fever.

[3] *Gesta Hen.*, i. p. 350; with an alternative account that he died of a sudden gastric attack. Gervase (i. p. 336) also says he died of disease.

who is eulogized almost without reserve.[1] His father, "cunctis infestus et exosus," fares very differently; and we are asked to believe that he was only saved from certain defeat and captivity by his son's opportune death. The general view taken by Giraldus of his attitude towards his sons is expressed in his account of Geoffrey's revolt, consequent upon his quarrels with Richard:—"For such was the perverse nature of king "Henry that to his utmost he excited and fostered "dissensions between his sons, as hoping only from "their dissension to obtain peace and quiet for him-"self."[2] In one respect, however, he does him more justice, for he describes his grief at the death of both sons without any attempt to dispute its reality.

In going on to narrate how Henry was also warned and urged to amendment by visions and other supernatural agencies Giraldus is on ground for which, in common with his age, he shows a decided predilection. He begins with the curious story of the king's encounter with a prophetic visitant at Cardiff in 1172, who brought him a mandate to enforce a stricter keeping of Sunday. This is repeated from the *Itin. Kambriæ*,[3] but it is further authenticated here by the statement that he had it direct from the knight who was with Henry at the time. But the fullest and most interesting of these narratives is that of the mission imposed by St. Peter and the archangel Gabriel on Sir Roger de Estreby,[4] of Lincolnshire. The vision itself

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[1] In his rebellion it was Geoffrey who was "mali totius intentor," p. 172.

[2] p. 176. So also later on, "Hæc enim erat hominis hujus "natura quod semper invidebat "successori," p. 232.

[3] Vol. vi. p. 64. It is also in some MSS. of the *Exp. Hib.*, vol. v. p. 289, with the addition found here. The address "God houlde "dhe, cuning," in Higden and Trevisa is transformed into "Good old "king" (Higden, viii. pp. 48, 49).

[4] p. 183. Estreby is probably Asterby, seven miles north of Horncastle; and he was no doubt the same Sir Roger de Esterbi who paid scutage in co. Lincoln, 1 Rich. I. (*Pipe Roll*, ed. Jos. Hunter, 1844, p. 62). Higden, in copying Giraldus, calls him Sir Philip (viii. p. 50).

and the miracles by which it was attested—the speaking crucifix, the inexhaustible beans, and the restoration of the cuirass pledged with Aaron the Jew of Lincoln[1]—are sufficiently remarkable, but the nature of the mission and its issue are even more so. If the facts were as Giraldus represents them, the whole thing could hardly have been anything else than a pious fraud, got up to work on Henry's superstitious fears for securing redress of grievances. Whether Sir Roger was privy to it, or a mere tool in the hands of others more astute, is another matter. In the first instance he was directed to approach the king through Baldwin and Ranulph de Glanville. As Baldwin became archbishop at the end of 1184, this fixes the date within the last four years of Henry's life, and there are other indications that suggest 1185 or early in 1186. Ultimately, however,—perhaps because the ministers did not like his credentials—he sought the king in person in Normandy, and produced the list of seven commands Henry was to carry out on pain of an ignominious death within four years. These commands began with his coronation oath to maintain the rights of the church, and ended with the expulsion of the Jews, a proviso being carefully added that they should leave their pledges and bonds behind to be restored to their debtors. Whatever the case with the rest, there is a flavour about the last command highly suggestive of a merely mundane origin. As Giraldus depicts it, there is something grimly humorous in the scene that followed. Conscience-stricken, Henry publicly promised entire obedience, and at once began to hear complaints and restore forfeitures. This went on far into the night, when, as they were all fasting, an adjournment was made to the morrow. But mean-

[1] We hear of him elsewhere, in connexion with the misdeeds of William Wibert (vol. i. pp. 207, 210). He was dead by the middle of Feb. 1187, when a great part of his confiscated wealth was lost at sea on its way to the king in Normandy (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 5).

while Henry had taken evil counsel and his devotion had cooled, with the result that, although on the news multitudes flocked for redress, he again put the business off, and so from day to day until it all came to nothing.

Chastisement and warnings being alike fruitless, Henry was also enticed by divine favours. On this branch of his subject Giraldus contents himself with a few general remarks, adding, as more or less relevant illustrations, copies of papal privileges,[1] letters, and other documents, some of which appear to be otherwise unknown. Not the least interesting of them is Henry's will, made in 1182, and preserved also by Gervase; although, even as to this, the author cannot refrain from suggesting that its numerous religious and charitable bequests were prompted by mere ostentation. It is a relief therefore that he repeats the eulogistic account of Henry from the *Topographia Hibernica*, qualified only with the hint that, as it was written while he was alive and bearing the sceptre not in vain, it was somewhat too flattering. But he makes up for this in the narrative, which concludes the second book, of the visit of the patriarch Heraclius to England, early in 1185, to implore aid for the Holy Land, and to offer Henry the keys and throne of Jerusalem.[2] The view Giraldus took of Henry's duty in the matter comes out in the report of his own dispute with him at Clarendon, where the king was hunting in the interval between the patriarch's arrival and the great Council held at Clerkenwell on 18th March.[3]

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[1] One of these, the confirmation by Alexander III. of Adrian's bull for the conquest of Ireland (p. 197), is prefaced by a few words to the effect that its authenticity had been impugned. As these words are not in the *Exp. Hib.*, from which the document is quoted, Mr. Dimock suggests that they are a marginal note, incorporated in the text (vol. v. p. 318, n. 4); but they may equally well be an addition by Giraldus himself in the later work.

[2] p. 202.

[3] This is the date given by R. de Diceto (ii. p. 33); the *Gesta Hen.* (i. p. 336) and Hoveden (ii. p. 302) make it 10 Mar.

That he chose the moment when Henry was on the point of starting for the chase to obtrude an inflated remark on the signal honour done to him by the patriarch's mission argues a want of tact that helps to explain his ill-success as a courtier. Under the circumstances Henry's retort, "If the patriarch and others "come to us, they seek here their own advantage and "not ours," was milder than might have been expected. But Giraldus was not to be silenced by a sarcasm, however pointed. As he himself suggests, his Welsh blood was up, and he went on unabashed, "You ought, "Sire, to account it the greatest advantage and honour "to you that before all other monarchs you have been "chosen to render this service to Christ." To allow or gainsay this was equally awkward, and Henry turned it with a jest. "Bravely," said he, "these clerks pro-"voke us to arms and dangers, when they themselves "will get no blows in the conflict, nor will they bear "any burdens they can avoid." The effect upon Giraldus was to dash his hopes utterly; for, in his own words, he had trusted that Henry would have redeemed Israel, and imagined the whole of England was no less bent on a crusade than himself. With all his cleverness he could never see more than one side to a question. Thus, although he records Henry's answer to Heraclius, after deliberation in the Council, that the safety of his kingdom demanded his presence at home [1] and that all the aid he could give was in money, it is without the slightest recognition that anything could be urged in its support. Henry, it is true, had nothing in him of the knight errant. In matters of policy he was cool-headed and unemotional, and in his refusal to embark on a distant and doubtful enterprise disinclination was probably as

[1] This answer is substantially the same as in R. de Diceto (ii. p. 33) and Gervase (i. p. 325). The latter also mentions the promise of money, 50,000 marks.

potent a factor as the advice of his council or any sense of duty to his own subjects. Nevertheless, menaced as he was on all sides and only holding his ill-assorted dominions together by ceaseless vigilance, the difficulties of his position were only too patent. But they met with no consideration from Giraldus. His reprobation is without stint or measure, and in the vehement apostrophe to Henry, which is one of his additions to what he before wrote in the *Expugnatio,* he denounces him as a stiff-necked and incorrigible sinner, wilfully flouting Heaven, and bringing down inevitable judgment on his own head.[1] Nor was the patriarch a whit behind in strong language. The doubt is whether he really spoke quite all that is put into his mouth, more especially in his extraordinary altercation with Henry at Dover, the report of which is another addition to the *Expugnatio.* The account is, indeed, wonderfully graphic, and churchmen under protection of their order were not apt to measure their words. Still, to the king's own face, his violence and audacity are almost incredible, and the lecture with which he began follows so closely the lines taken by Giraldus throughout this book that it is impossible to avoid suspecting that the whole passage has been at least embellished.

With the patriarch's departure Giraldus closes what may be called the second act of his tragedy, the first having ended with the death of Becket. All the interval had been allowed to Henry for repentance, and during it, as before, he had enjoyed on the whole success and prosperity, chequered only by passing trials. But with the last proof of his obduracy the measure of his

[1] p. 209. His indignation at the time did not prevent him from accepting a commission from Henry to accompany John into Ireland. John was knighted at Windsor on 31 Mar., and started immediately (*Gesta Hen.*, i. p. 336); and as Giraldus went with him (*Exp. Hib.*, vol. v. p. 381), he could not have been himself present at the scene at Dover between 10–16 April (Eyton, *Itin. of Hen. II.*, p. 263), which he describes just below.

iniquities was full, and henceforward therefore he is represented as struggling vainly with his fate and given over to judgment as a reprobate and castaway. To the few years yet left to him Giraldus devotes his last and most valuable book; but before entering upon it he briefly enumerates the misfortunes by which they were marked, namely, John's failure in Ireland, the successive losses of Auvergne, of Châteauroux and Berri, and of Le Mans and Tours, and, finally, Henry's own miserable end.[1] All this, together with his often quoted portrait of Henry and an epitome of the chief events of his reign, is taken bodily from the *Expugnatio*. At the same time he makes two slight changes, which are of some interest as evidence of the different spirit animating the two works. Thus, although he repeats his description of Henry without variation, he prefaces it, as he did the kindred extract noticed above, with the caution that it had originally been written under some restraint; and again he makes Henry solely to blame for John's ill-success, by having sent him to the west against Christians instead of to the east against Saracens, whereas in the *Expugnatio*[2] this is alleged as one cause only out of five.

In his third book Giraldus goes back for a starting point to the last interview between Henry and Louis VII. By this, although he names neither time nor place, he presumably means the abortive conference for settling their respective rights in Auvergne held at Graçay in November, 1177.[3] Of the negotiations, however, as of the grounds of dispute, he says nothing whatever, merely recording the tearful appeal to Heaven with which Louis broke them off; and to this he adds, for the second time in the work, an account of a vision in which shortly before his death Louis was permitted to see the future triumph of his son, at first over his own great barons

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[1] p. 212.

[2] Vol. v. p. 388.

[3] *Gesta Hen.*, i. p. 197.

and finally over Henry himself. Nothing, in fact, shows more unmistakeably the author's bias than the different measure meted out to the two kings. Louis throughout is depicted as being all that his rival was not, virtuous, devout, and high-minded, mild in his rule, a faithful husband, and, above all, so zealous an upholder of the church that he burnt papal indulgences in his own favour which trenched on its rights.[1] Weak he could hardly help appearing, as in what is said of his treatment by his barons and of Henry's success in dealing with him as compared with Philip his son[2]; but all that was mean, tricky, and false in his character is kept out of sight, and he consistently plays the part of lamb to Henry's wolf. Nor does his successor fail to obtain his full share of the favour with which Giraldus regarded his race, and which later on shows itself in a highly interesting, if one-sided, comparison of French and English kings.[3] Marked out by visions and omens as the chosen instrument of Heaven for Henry's humiliation, he had his future fame foretold in his cradle by Arab ambassadors from Spain, and as he grew into boyhood confirmed the hopes of it by speeches and actions which Giraldus records with evident zest.[4]

To the early part of Philip's reign, from 1180 to 1186, Giraldus devotes a few paragraphs. During this period he certainly owed much to Henry's good offices, prompted in great part, as it appears, by his chivalrous, though at times strangely inconsistent, ideas of feudal obligation.

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[1] p. 133.

[2] pp. 231, 256. In the latter passage there is a further reflexion on him: "et religionis venerator "exstiterat et *pecuniæ tamen* "*amator*."

[3] p. 318. Among other points of difference referred to are the avoidance by the French of the fearful oaths used by the English kings, and their choice of a flower (gladiolus) for armorial bearings instead of a wild beast; but the whole passage is worth notice.

[4] pp. 288 sqq. The speech about Château Gaillard (p. 289) and Richard's retort, "Si castellum "illud totum de butiro foret," etc., must have been made in 1197–98. For the rejoicings in Paris at Philip's birth, see p. 292.

This was more particularly shown in Philip's quarrel with his early adviser, Philip, Count of Flanders, about Vermandois, which the king claimed as lapsing to the crown at the death of the Countess Isabella in 1182. In this matter, as Giraldus phrases it, Philip was divinely guided to submit himself entirely to Henry's counsel, taking him, as it were, for his father[1]; and the result was that, after exhausting every effort to win Henry over, the count was compelled to submit.[2] The value of the service is tacitly admitted even by Giraldus. Characteristically, however, he grudges Henry the credit of it, attributing his action solely to his relationship to the count,[3] since an inherent defect in his Angevin blood obliged him to hate and thwart all of his own kin.[4] It is equally characteristic of king Philip that, young as he was, he requited Henry with cynical ingratitude His intrigues with the younger Henry and Geoffrey were briefly noticed in the second book, and there is no further reference to them. But the account of his attack, apparently in 1187, upon Auvergne, instigated and supported by the now reconciled count of Flanders, is noteworthy. It was now Henry's turn to use all his arts[5] to detach the count and the French barons, and equally in vain. The count scoffingly reminded him of his former deafness to his own appeals, and the barons feared Philip as they never feared his father. As a last resource, we are told that Henry proposed for terms of peace that, England and Normandy alone being left to Richard, Poitou, Anjou, and all his other continental dominions held of the French crown should be given over to John, together with

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[1] "Anglorum regem tanquam "pro patre suscepit," p. 229.

[2] For a curious anecdote of Philip at this time, see p. 293.

[3] Philip's mother was Sibyl, daughter of Fulk V., count of Anjou, and aunt of Henry.

[4] p. 230. See also the speech of Geoffrey, count of Brittany, to Godfrey de Luci, p. 302.

[5] "ad solitas versutias se con-"vertens," p. 231; and so below, "ad solitas decipulas se conver-"tens," p. 232.

Philip's half-sister Adela. The latter since 1169 had been betrothed to Richard and in Henry's custody; and parenthetically Giraldus accounts for Richard's reluctance to fulfil the contract by alleging that after Rosamond's death she had been debauched by his father.[1] To this, moreover, he adds that Henry at one time, apparently in 1175, meditated divorcing Eleanor and marrying her himself, with a view to disinherit Eleanor's children in favour of her issue. Shameful as it is, the first of these charges is perhaps the more credible of the two. The laxity of Henry's morals was extreme; but a scheme to supplant his grown sons by a child yet unborn seems too wild for his eminently practical intellect. Nor is it easy of belief that so practised and wily a diplomatist actually committed to writing the proposals noticed above. If he really did so, the result might have been expected. By sending the letter on to Richard Philip at one stroke gained his aim in embroiling Henry with his heir, the immediate result being that he was compelled to agree to a year's truce, leaving his rival in possession of Auvergne. Such at least is the account given by Giraldus; but it is not quite borne out by the regular chroniclers. They say nothing of any operations in Auvergne in 1187, nor is Auvergne mentioned in the truce of the 23rd June, which, although for two years instead of one, must be that to which Giraldus refers. Altogether, writing probably from memory, he appears to have mixed up the events of 1187 and 1188 in hopeless confusion. Still, the fact of the strained relations between father and son remains, and the story of the betrayed letter may

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[1] Yet the marriage formed one of the stipulations of the treaty of Colombières in 1189, to which Richard was a consenting party (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 70). Benedict makes Richard declare to Philip in 1191 that she had borne a son to Henry, and, proofs being adduced, the contract was formally annulled (*ib.*, p. 160). Notwithstanding this, Philip offered her to John at the end of the same year (*ib.*, p. 236).

supply the clue, not only to the close intimacy of Richard with Philip immediately after the truce so graphically described by Benedict,[1] but to his continued fears as to Henry's designs on his succession which led to the scene between them at Bonmoulins in November, 1188.[2]

Meanwhile events in the East were moving fast, and after briefly alluding to the Christian defeats Giraldus turns to the congenial task of denouncing Henry as the cause of them. Strangely enough, he omits to mention the culminating blow in Saladin's capture of Jerusalem on 3rd October, 1187; while he post-dates by a month both the battle of Hittin and the receipt of the news of it,[3] though possibly in the latter case he really means the news of the loss of the Holy City. Whichever it was, Richard immediately on hearing it took the cross at Tours, and his example was followed by Henry and Philip at Gisors early in 1188,[4] the time of starting being fixed for Easter, 1189. On these transactions Giraldus is less full than might have been expected, but he has something to say on the Saladin tithe, on the general enthusiasm for a crusade, and on the cause of its failure in the discord of princes. Whether Henry, if he had lived, would this time have carried his crusading vow into effect may be open to doubt. But his refusal to aid Richard to start at once, a year before the appointed time and with inadequate preparations, is quite consistent with honesty of purpose. Richard wanted to mortgage Poitou until he returned, either to Henry himself or to anyone else on whom they could both rely; and further than this, to guard

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[1] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 7.

[2] Gervase, i. p. 435.

[3] p. 239. It is apparently the battle of Hittin to which he alludes as having taken place "circa Kal. "Augusti." It was really fought on 4 July (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 21, n. 2; *Itin. Ric.*, i. p. 14), and news of it reached Western Europe early in October (*Itin. Ric.*, i. p. cxv.), instead of a month later.

[4] "Circa Kal. Febr."; on 21 Jan. according to Benedict (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 29) and Hoveden (ii. p. 334).

against machinations in his absence, he required that the barons, both of England and of Henry's French dominions, should swear fealty to him as their future king before he started. Both these proposals Henry refused, though no exception could be taken to the form of his answer, that they would both go together and with funds in common.[1] Giraldus, however, puts his action down entirely to envy of Richard's prospective fame, just as afterwards, in reporting one of Henry's scoffing speeches on the subject, he styles him a dog in the manger, neither going himself nor permitting anyone else to go.[2] But it requires less unprejudiced testimony to render credible the charge that, finding Richard was not to be baulked, he supplied him with funds, but at the same time intrigued[3] for his hindrance by stirring up against him the nobles of Poitou and Raymond, count of Toulouse. If any external stimulus was applied, it is more likely to have come from Philip, who interfered warmly to save Raymond, when, after crushing with his usual vigour the revolt in Poitou, Richard turned upon him and threatened his capital.[4] Henry all the time was in England, exacting the Saladin tithe and cajoling and threatening his barons into taking the cross—an admission of Giraldus which hardly squares with his previous statement of the universal enthusiasm. Before he could cross the channel to set matters right by his own presence Philip had thrown off the mask, invaded Berri and taken Châteauroux. This last blow fell on 16th June,[5] and we have a curious

[1] p. 244.

[2] "tanquam cani comparandus "in fœnili," p. 251. In allusion to the same speech he says, "Unde "et non nisi in dolo crucem creditur "suscepisse," meaning to purchase absolution at Rome. Giraldus, it may be noted, got rid of his own vow in much the same way (vol. iii. p. 71).

[3] "ad dolos exquisitos nec non "insolitos se convertens," p. 245.

[4] Yet Richard's own defence to his father was that he invaded Toulouse with Philip's connivance (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 40; Hoveden, ii. p. 340).

[5] R. de Diceto, ii. p. 55.

account of Henry's reception of the news at Guildford, on his way to the coast. In the morning, it appears, after mass Walter Daumartin, one of his chaplains, revealed to him a vision which he had seen of St. Thomas brandishing a sword and uttering threats. After hearing it the king bent thrice before the altar, crossed himself, and passed on into his council-chamber; but later in the day he sent for the chaplain and, as he entered, addressed him from where he was sitting alone in a corner of the room, "Walter, Walter, thy sword hath already "begun to cut cruelly, for even now have we lost "Châteauroux." A warning from Margaret de Bohun,[1] at Portsmouth, to the effect that, whereas in all his previous difficulties he had the hearts of his people with him, they were now estranged by his exactions, found him in a more violent mood. "Your rascally people," he retorted, "now curse without reason; but hence- "forth, if I live and return, they shall curse with "reason enough."

Giraldus hurries over events between his landing in Normandy, in July, and the conference with Philip near Bonmoulins, on 18th November,[2] and in the latter he restricts himself to the part played by Richard at its close. During the summer, outwardly at least, Richard had sided with his father; but when, in answer to Philip's crafty demand, Henry refused to let a formal oath of fealty be taken to him as his heir, all his suspicions were confirmed, and before his father's eyes he openly went over to Philip and did him homage. In this very striking scene Giraldus is in accord with the chroniclers,

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[1] p. 253. The name is of peculiar interest, as she was widow of Humphrey de Bohun (ob. 1165) and daughter of Milo of Gloucester, earl of Hereford, the great champion of Henry's mother. Her intervention, "a longinquis regni finibus ad ipsum veniens," marks the gravity of the crisis and the impression made by the severity with which the Saladin tithe was exacted. She is known to have been alive as late as 1186 (*Rot. de Dominabus*, p. 44).

[2] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 50; Hoveden, ii. p. 354; Gervase, i. p. 435.

though he is less full and dramatic than Gervase more especially, digressing speedily into moral reflexions of the usual kind at Henry's expense. Incidentally, in the next chapter,[1] he lets us see the king under two aspects. His object, indeed, is merely to illustrate by a shocking example, for which he was probably indebted to one or other of the prelates concerned, the blasphemy to which Henry was prone in his paroxysms of rage. This he does most effectively, and the picture of Henry calling Baldwin and bishop Hugh of Lincoln apart in order to vent before them his impotent spite against Heaven, and then spurring back again into the crowd as one possessed, seems only too lifelike. But in the remarks with which he prefaces the anecdote, he introduces less objectionable traits in his character, his preference of men of the gown to men of the sword, and of negotiation to the arbitrament of arms; while the excellence of two at least of his episcopal appointments is grudgingly admitted.[2]

Still treating only of particular episodes, Giraldus next takes up the thread of history in March, 1189. Henry, as he says, was then lying seriously ill with a fistula at Le Mans[3]; and it is probably again owing to archbishop Baldwin that we are admitted behind the scenes, where he and his brother archbishops of Rouen and Tours[4] wore out their patience in trying to bring the sick king to repentance and confession. At last, when they had threatened to leave him altogether to die in his sins, he yielded so far as to make confession, though, if the account be strictly true, his manner of doing so was of

[1] p. 255.

[2] For Henry's intimacy with bishop Hugh, so great that many believed the latter to be his son, see especially the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, ed. Dimock, pp. xlviii. 75.

[3] No doubt a continuation of the illness in January of which Gervase speaks, "Ægrotabat enim . . . "sponte vel invitus," i. p. 439.

[4] Giraldus (p. 259) calls this prelate William instead of Bartholomew, probably from some confusion with William of Tyre. The same mistake is made by Benedict and Hoveden.

the strangest. How the author arrived at his knowledge he does not explain. Those who heard the confession are not likely to have so far violated its sanctity. As the story goes, Henry confessed neither all nor the worst of his sins, and, while he concealed some, he flatly denied others, even when known to his confessors; arguing and disputing, full of excuses, but showing no sign of contrition.

From this illness Henry recovered sufficiently to meet Richard in more than one conference during April and May on the borders of La Marche.[1] All that is said of these negotiations, which are not recorded elsewhere, is that they were fruitless; but incidentally Giraldus mentions that he was himself at this time moving about with the court.[2] This fact increases his value as an authority for the events of this critical period, and it is a pity he does not enter into more detail. It is not clear whether he was attached to Henry's own retinue or to that of the archbishop. In the curious account of the prophecy of Henry's approaching death uttered in the delirium of fever by Richard de Redvers[3] at Le Mans, apparently about the end of April, he speaks of being in company with Baldwin, but this may of course refer to the particular occasion only. On the other hand, in repeating from the *Expugnatio* a vision of his own at Chinon on 10th May, he says he was with the king.[4] What became of him after the latter date we have no means of ascertaining. All that can be inferred

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[1] "in Marchiæ finibus," p. 260.

[2] "Ad colloquia . . . (quoniam "et curiæ sequela tunc fueram) "pluries profecti sumus," p. 260.

[3] Richard de Redvers III., earl of Devon. Giraldus (p. 261) describes him as "virum nobilem . . . regis consobrinum," his mother being Dionysia, daughter of Reginald de Dunstanville, earl of Cornwall, natural son of Henry I. He is usually said to have died in 1184, but the authority is not given.

[4] p. 264. He appears to have crossed from England with Baldwin and R. de Glanville, "consilio "eorundem et archidiaconus transfretravit" (vol. i. p. 80).

is that he had not returned to England[1]; and it is tantalizing therefore that, when matters close beside him were approaching a climax, he digresses for several chapters to give the history of the crusade of the emperor Frederic, borrowed almost entirely from the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi.*[2]

When he returns to his proper subject[3] it is to narrate the momentous events that followed the abortive conference at La Ferté Bernard on 4th June. Whether for intimate knowledge or dramatic force, Giraldus yields to none of the authorities who deal with the tragic history of the closing month of Henry's life[4]; and this applies not only to the present work but to the account of Henry's last days in his Life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York.[5] The two narratives in fact dovetail one into the other, and should be read together. There is a strong presumption that Geoffrey himself furnished much of the information for both[6]; indeed, there are some particulars that could hardly have come from any other source. In Geoffrey's case the theory of retributive justice, which Giraldus so persistently preaches, seems for once to have been at fault. The eldest of

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[1] He was despatched thither by Richard after Henry's death, at Baldwin's advice, to help keep the peace on the Welsh border (vol. i. p. 80.)

[2] pp. 267–281. Though the fact is duly noted, the passage by inadvertence has not been printed, as it should have been, in small type.

[3] p. 282.

[4] See Dr. Stubbs's valuable preface to Hoveden, ii. pp. lix. sqq.; where the details are collected from the various sources and, so far as possible, harmonized. A new authority has since been recovered in the French poem on the life of William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke (*L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal.* Notice et extraits par Paul Meyer, 1882. Extracted from *Romania*, vol. xi.). This extremely important work substantially agrees with Giraldus, each author, however, supplementing the other.

[5] *Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi*, in vol. iv. pp. 369–371.

[6] Another likely informant was Baldwin; but it is doubtful whether he was with Henry at his death, as he seems to have been at Rouen two or three days before (*Epp. Cant.*, ed. Stubbs, p. 296; and Hoveden, ii. p. lxi., note 1). Giraldus was possibly there with him.

all Henry's sons,[1] as the offspring of an illicit and degrading connexion, he ought, like the issue of the divorced Eleanor, to have proved an instrument of his punishment. As it was, he is the one signal exception; faithful among the faithless, he adhered to Henry to the very end, accompanying him in his flight from Le Mans, soothing his dying hours, and conducting his obsequies. The strange thing is that we learn this solely from the *Vita Galfridi*; whatever the explanation, his name is not even mentioned here,[2] and his presence at any point of the narrative can only be inferred by comparison with the other work.

Among the incidents of this time recorded only by Giraldus is one of Henry's most characteristic outbursts of impotent rage. This was in his headlong flight from Le Mans on 12th June, when, after the pursuit relaxed, he halted for a moment on a hill about two miles from the burning city and turned to look back at it. Maddened at the sight, he broke out into blasphemy, reproaching God for having meanly taken from him the city he loved best, where he had been born and bred, and where his father lay buried, and vowing that in requital he would cheat Him of his soul.[3] To Giraldus also we owe the interesting detail that the cessation of the pursuit was due to Richard's being thrown from his horse, which had been pierced by a lance. Who the knight was who rendered Henry this signal service he does not say, and it has been supposed that he was one of Richard's own

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[1] *Vita*, vol. iv. p. 363. Giraldus says he had scarcely completed his fourth lustrum when made bishop of Lincoln (April, 1173), and elsewhere (p. 384) that he was about forty when consecrated archbishop of York (August, 1191). He was probably born therefore in 1153 or shortly before. Walter Map, who had a quarrel with him, says his mother was a common strumpet named Ykenai, and throws doubts on his paternity (*De Nugis Cur.*, p. 228).

[2] Nor, so far as M. Meyer's extracts extend, is it in the *Hist. Guill. Mar.*

[3] "rem quam in me plus dilig-" eres," p. 283.

followers, the affair being an accident.[1] That this was not the case is now known from the French Life of William the Marshal, which gives a lively description of an encounter between Richard and the Marshal, who was covering Henry's retreat, ending as Giraldus narrates.[2] Thus freed from the fear of immediate capture, Henry rode on as far as Frenellæ or La Frenaye, and next day turned southward towards Anjou. This we are told here in barely a couple of lines, with none of the graphic details, such as the manner in which he passed the night and the proceedings next morning, which are given in the *Vita Galfridi*. As to Henry's movements for the next fortnight, during which Philip and Richard were overrunning Maine and threatening Tours, both works are alike silent, though the *Vita* states that Geoffrey, on his return from conducting his scattered forces to Alençon, found him at Savigny.[3]

Giraldus here takes up the tale again on Friday, 30th June,[4] when a conference had been fixed at Azai, half-way between Tours and Chinon, at which last place Henry had been staying.[5] On the very day, however, Henry was seized by an attack of fever and could not appear. What passed in his absence is left to conjecture; probably some approach was made to agreement on the terms of peace ultimately imposed. All that Giraldus states is that Philip and Richard regarded Henry's illness as a mere pretence—"solito ejusdem de more," as he adds on his own account—and accordingly they invested Tours on the next day. This action was speedily followed by its capture by assault on the Monday, 3rd July, though the precise date is not here given. Mean-

[1] Hoveden, ii. p. lxiii.

[2] *Hist. Guill. Mar.*, p. 62.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 369. Which particular Savigny this was has not been satisfactorily made out (Hoveden, ii. p. lxv.).

[4] R. de Diceto says on the Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, *i.e.* 28 June (ii. p. 64). Giraldus only gives the day of the week. See Dr. Stubbs's note in Hoveden, ii. p. lxv.

[5] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 68.

while Henry, ill as he was, made a last unavailing effort to arrange matters by summoning to him as mediators the archbishop of Reims and the counts of Flanders and Blois. This was on the Sunday, as we learn from Benedict, who, however, substitutes the duke of Burgundy for the count of Blois and represents the three as going on their own initiative in spite of a warning from Philip.[1] There is a difficulty also as to Henry's movements. Benedict places him on the Sunday at Saumur, whereas Giraldus[2] implies that he remained at Azai from the Friday on which he was taken ill until the day of the final conference held at Colombières, half-way between Tours and Azai, on Tuesday, 4th July.[3] This conference Giraldus omits to mention, though it is evidently the one on the morrow of the capture of Tours referred to in the *Vita Galfridi*,[4] from which Geoffrey begged to be excused, that he might not be an eye-witness of his father's humiliation. Its issue, however, that Henry was compelled to submit himself to Philip's mercy without reservation, is duly recorded, and gives occasion to the author to enlarge with unction on the evidence it afforded of divine vengeance on him for his own similar treatment of St. Thomas. Of the articles of the treaty there agreed upon, set out at length by Benedict,[5] he specifies only two, the first that of Henry's submission to Philip, and the other the stipulation that Richard's adherents should owe allegiance to him alone, and not to his father. To these he adds a third later on, which

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[1] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 69. The *Hist. Guill. Mar.* only names the archbishop and count of Flanders, adding "e d'autres amis," l. 8937, p. 64.

[2] See the heading to ch. 25, p. 286; and Hoveden, ii. p. lxvi., note. In the text his meaning is doubtful, since it depends on the position of a comma, after "die" or after "apud Azai," whether we are to understand that Henry had arrived or not at Azai before he was seized with fever.

[3] For place and date see Hoveden, ii. p. lxvii., n. 2; and cf. *Hist. Guill. Mar.*, l. 8944.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 370.

[5] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 70.

is not mentioned by other authorities, that Henry should be formally reconciled to his son and should give him the kiss of peace. For this purpose Richard appears to have paid him a special visit, probably at the castle of Azai.[1] There he duly received the kiss; but as he turned away he overheard the whisper, "God grant I "may not die until I have taken meet revenge on thee," and carried the words back with him to Philip as a subject of jest.

From the conference at Colombières Henry was carried to Chinon, a dying man. It must have been after he arrived there that he received the final blow that crushed him. Hoveden, indeed, speaks as if the list of Richard's supporters was handed to him and read at the conference,[2] and Giraldus so far supports him that he narrates the incident in immediate connexion with the article in the treaty which gave rise to it. As, however, he mentions that Henry was in bed at the time, he must refer to some later occasion, and the Life of William the Marshal fixes the locality at Chinon beyond doubt,[3] Roger Malchael being sent back from thence to Philip at Tours to fetch the list. It is interesting to compare the two narratives, prose and verse. In the French poem, when Henry heard, first in the list of traitors, the name of his youngest and best beloved son, the effect was stupefying; all he uttered was "Thou hast said enough," and then he turned away on his bed. According to Giraldus he was more demonstrative. At the sound of John's name he started up in a frenzy and looking fiercely round exclaimed, "What, is it true "that John has left me, John, my very heart, whom

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[1] "Et sic a castro comes exiens," after the interview (p. 296). Unless this means the Commandery of the Templars at Ballan, where Henry halted for the Colombières meeting (*Hist. Guill. Mar.*, l. 8957, and note, p. 69), it must be either the castle at Azai on his road to Chinon, or that of Chinon itself.

[2] ii. p. 366.

[3] *Hist. Guill. Mar.*, ll. 9039, sqq.

"I have loved more than all my sons, and for whose "advancement I have endured all these woes?" Then, being assured of the truth, he sank back on his bed, and, turning his face to the wall, groaned aloud, "Now "let all things go as they will; for myself or for the "world I care no more." Whether Geoffrey was present at this scene we do not know. It finds no place in the *Vita Galfridi*; just as the present work omits the intensely pathetic scenes between him and his father which are there narrated. The account here of Henry's last moments is extremely brief. On the Thursday (6th July), it is said, the seventh and critical day of the fever, he kept repeating "Shame, shame on a conquered king," and so passed away, "obrutus magis et oppressus quam "naturali morte finitus."[1] This version differs curiously from that of Hoveden,[2] who says that before his death he was carried into the church and laid before the altar, where he confessed and communicated, and was absolved by the bishops and clergy present. Giraldus says nothing of all this; he even draws a special moral from the fact that no bishop was with him at the last and that he died without the consolations of religion.[3] On the other hand, his story that, as soon as the king was dead, his rapacious attendants stripped his body and left it exposed has the support both of Hoveden and, still more circumstantially, the Marshal poem.[4] The next day the dead king was carried[5] to the abbey of nuns at Fontevraud, where, after lying in state in the church, he was buried on the morrow in front of the high altar. In

[1] p. 297.

[2] ii. p. 367. The passage is an addition to Benedict, who gives the bare fact of Henry's death (*Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 71).

[3] p. 304.

[4] Instead of the "puer quidam," who covered the body with his cloak, the shortness of which gave a new meaning to Henry's nick-name of Court-Mantel, the poem assigns this pious act to Sir W. de Trihan, one of the Marshal's knights (l. 9157).

[5] By the Marshal and the barons "en lors cols," in the poem (ll. 9221–3); Giraldus speaks of the bier being drawn by horses.

common with others Giraldus notes in this the fulfilment of the prophecy "Velabitur cum velatis," with the further gloss of his own that it was in the same nunnery where he wished to force Eleanor to take the veil. Of the circumstances of the funeral he remarks more especially on two. In his anxiety to see a judgment in everything, he no doubt makes the most of the difficulties attending it, which, with the need for obvious reasons of a speedy interment, were not unnatural. Richard's sudden appearance, while the body lay in state, appealed still more powerfully to his dramatic instincts, and the picture he gives of him standing by his father's bier is a striking one. The features were uncovered and still retained their wonted fierceness; as Richard looked on them, he shuddered and showed some remorse, then kneeling before the altar he so remained scarcely long enough to repeat the Lord's Prayer. Of his further proceedings on this or the next day Giraldus says not a word; but he goes on to tell how, as soon as he entered the church, blood began to flow from the nostrils of the corpse and did not cease until he departed. The inference, however, which, in accordance with popular belief, must have forced itself upon the spectators, is pointedly left to the reader to draw for himself. The same story is in Benedict,[1] but not in the French poem. Otherwise the narrative there substantially agrees with Giraldus, contributing, however, striking details of its own; above all, Richard's strange interview with the Marshal outside the church, when he showed the more generous side of his character in forgiving the latter for having unhorsed him a month earlier.

[1] *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. 71. So also Hoveden, ii. p. 367. Both say that Richard met the corpse as it was on the way to Fontevraud; but this he would not have done, if he was coming from Tours, and the *Hist. Guill. Mar.*, like Giraldus, makes him enter the church during the lying in state. Giraldus tells the story also in the *Vita Galfridi* (vol. iv. p. 372).

With Henry's death, and after a curious series o portents and visions that presaged it,[1] Giraldus completes his design as laid down at the beginning of the second book. In all that he wrote after the king was dead his attitude is that of unrelenting hostility ; and even the earlier extracts, which to some extent serve as palliatives, were perhaps introduced less with that intention than as specimens of fine writing. Thus the character drawn of Henry is almost unrelieved in its blackness ; his tyranny and oppression, his duplicity, his gross licentiousness, and his blasphemous impiety being continually kept in view, to the exclusion of any less reprehensible features. In many respects the portrait is undeniably true[2]; but it is thoroughly one-sided and coloured by strong personal feeling. There is no recognition of Henry's statesmanship and political sagacity, or of the value of his fiscal,[3] legal, and other reforms; and even so salutary a measure as his repression of the turbulent independence of the nobles is charged against him as a crime.[4]

The author's animosity, however, is not limited to Henry himself ; it extends more or less to the whole Angevin family, and includes his four predecessors on the English throne. Of the latter he speaks mostly in general terms only as tyrants, but William Rufus is signalled out more particularly. Whether by a mere

[1] The two portents at Exmes and in Elvael in Wales (p. 306), the latter of which occurred on the night of the death of Henry I., are given also in the *Itin. Kamb.*, vol. v. p. 19.

[2] See Dr. Stubbs in *Gesta Hen.*, ii. pp. xxvii. sqq.

[3] For a curious passage on fiscal matters, see p. 316 ; and cf. Dr. Stubbs's remarks in *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. lxxxviii. Giraldus there makes out that the ordinary revenue, or the sheriff's farm-rent, had sunk from 60,000 marks in the Confessor's time to barely 12,000 in Henry's, owing to the large grants out of it made by Stephen and himself, and that the defect had to be supplied by oppressive means of all kinds, adding that the king of Sicily had from Palermo alone more than Henry from all England.

[4] "Ab initio et usque ad finem nobilitatis oppressor," p. 160; above, p. xxiii.

blunder or to heighten the effect, he attributes to him, to begin with, the formation of the New Forest,[1] and then proceeds to give two different versions of the manner in which he met his death there. These versions, however, have been so fully discussed, in connexion with other authorities, by Mr. Freeman[2] that, curious as they are, I need do no more here than direct attention to them. The special features of the second and more original story are the part played by the prior of Dunstable, a house which appears not to have been founded at the time, and the substitution of the name of Ralph de Aix (Aquis) for that of Walter Tyrel as the king's slayer. In treating of Henry's paternal ancestry Giraldus introduces the strange legend of the demon-countess of Anjou, which pointed a prophecy of St. Bernard, when he saw Henry as a child,[3] supplied the patriarch Heraclius with a retort at Dover,[4] and was adopted in grim jest by Richard to account for the bitterness and persistence of the family dissensions.[5] Another of his stories, equally strange and not more credible, is that of the bigamy of Henry's mother Matilda, who is alleged to have married Geoffrey of Anjou while her first husband, the emperor Henry V., was still living as a hermit near Chester.[6] What is most reprobated in Geoffrey himself is his conduct to Gerard, bishop of Séez, represented as only less heinous than his son's to St. Thomas; but, as already mentioned, he is also accused of an intrigue with his son's future

[1] p. 322.

[2] *The Reign of William Rufus*, 1882, ii. pp. 316, sqq., and App., p. 657.

[3] p. 309.

[4] p. 211

[5] p. 301.

[6] p. 300; also in vol. i. p. 186. Hoveden has the same legend in a less developed form, that, in remorse for having slain his father, Henry suddenly deserted his wife and his empire and disappeared, no one knew where (i. p. 181; and Dr. Stubbs's note, p. xxxiv.).

wife, while still queen of France.[1] By Henry's marriage with Eleanor, in spite, we are told, of his father's repeated warnings, another vicious stock was grafted on that of Anjou, the effect of which was patent in their joint issue. Besides the scandal attaching to Eleanor herself, when in Palestine, as well as at home, she was the grand-daughter (not, as Giraldus has it, the daughter) of that dissolute William, count of Poitou, whose abduction of the wife of the vicomte de Châtelherault [2] brought down upon his descendants a curse which Giraldus declares to have been fulfilled in Eleanor's children. Though he refers to St. Hugh and Henry himself as his authorities, this deduction is vitiated by the fact that Eleanor was not, as he implies, descended from the adulterous pair.

As regards Richard and John, the terms in which they are respectively spoken of are in marked contrast. It is not only that the author tacitly sides with Richard in his contest with his father. Although he includes him in the general condemnation of his family, individually he deals with him rather tenderly. He reflects on him for bartering away Henry's conquests from Scotland, and hints mysteriously at his lack of three particular virtues, which he does not name[3]; but beyond this the severest judgment passed on him is in comparing his death with that of William Rufus, where he is characterised as "swelling with tyrannical pride."[5] The language used of John is much more violent and denunciatory. At first Giraldus appears to have hoped better things; for in a passage on the untimely ends of Henry's three elder sons he adds a prayer that the fourth

[1] p. 300. This scandal is repeated also by our author's friend Walter Map (*De Nugis Cur.*, p. 226), but appears, I believe, in no other early authority.

[2] p. 298, note 5.

[3] pp. 139, 156, 250.

[4] p. 326. So also, "ut erat ar-" rogantiæ nimiæ et animositatis "immensæ," p. 290.

might long be preserved for the peace and tranquillity of his people and the liberty of the church.[1] Obviously this must have been written quite early in John's reign, possibly at the time when Giraldus flattered himself that he was at last to be bishop of St. David's.[2] The next sentence, which is plainly a later insertion, is relied upon by Mr. Brewer as proving that there were two editions of the entire work.[3] It is to the effect that, although the words preceding were suited to the time when they were written, yet *at the time of the published edition* the fourth son also had begun to go the way of his brothers, Philip of France still reigning and compassing his ruin by means of his son. If the sentence was the author's own, it certainly seems at first sight to imply the existence of an edition anterior to that in which it appears. The evidence, however, is hardly convincing. The case is not that of one edition appearing early in John's reign and the other soon after his death. From the mention of Philip's heir Louis, who did not intervene in the struggle between John and the barons until May, 1216, the supposed earlier edition could not have preceded the king's death by more than a few months, and at that time the invocation in his favour needed an explanatory note quite as much as it did a little later. Nor is there any necessity for supposing that Giraldus alludes to any other edition than that we now have. He kept the work by him, as we know, all through John's reign, and in writing it up to date, when on the point of issuing it, he might justifiably designate it as the "published edition" before it was actually in the hands of the reader. There is another

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[1] p. 308.

[2] *De Gestis*, iii. cap. 10, vol. i. p. 109. This was immediately after John's accession. After their protracted quarrel about St. David's, Giraldus was formally taken back into favour in Jan. 1204 (vol. i. p. 434).

[3] Above, p. xix.

explanation, which is not unreasonable. In publishing the work the author, with his usual carelessness, may have left the original passage as it stood without comment, and the insertion may be a gloss that has found its way into the text of our MS., made by some reader who noticed the inconsistency of the author's sentiments towards John with those he expresses soon after. On the whole therefore the probability is that there were only two editions in all, the one, as already shown, comprising only the first book, and the other all three, as we now have them, including the passages attacking the memory of John.

These passages are two only in number.[1] One of them is tacked on to a prophecy said to have been made at Henry's coronation and fulfilled in the reign of his son, and describes the latter as not only the worst of his family, raging madly against priesthood and people, but as the most vicious and generally detestable tyrant of any age. Following this is a vision seen in John's own time, and made out to refer not only to the interdict of 1208, but to the devastation wrought by the contending forces in 1216, when the barons, it is said, were only saved by the French from ruin, having foolishly failed to crush the king before he made his peace with Rome. The other passage forms part of the epilogue, which contains a still more moving picture of the miseries of the time. With a profusion of epithets Giraldus there brands John as a "tyrant whelp, sprung from tyrants " the most cruel and himself of all tyrants the most " tyrannical," and he gloats over his defeat by the scion of a race of pious, just, and peaceful kings. He leaves

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[1] pp. 310, 328. As they both imply that John was dead, they do not support the theory, advocated in Bouquet and successfully controverted by Mr. Brewer, that Giraldus wrote the work to assist the cause of the barons against the king. Without them, the only direct reference to John as king is of a flattering kind.

it, however, to others, as he says, to narrate the history of the contest, as well as to explain the causes of the frustration of the hopes of freedom that were excited when a brighter day had dawned. Though this language is not quite clear, it becomes more so when taken in conjunction with the eulogy of Louis in the preface and with a still more outspoken passage on p. 303; and it cannot be doubted that the author's last word is a scarcely veiled expression of regret at the failure of the attempt to bring England under the French crown. If this reflects on his patriotism, it must be remembered that neither by birth nor in sympathies was he an Englishman. His heart was in Wales, and his hatred for the Norman and Angevin kings was only equalled by his contempt for the people over whom they tyrannized.

G. F. W.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

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In librum de Principis Instructione præfatio prima.[1]

Inter varia vitæ istius ludibria duo mihi vivendi genera præ cæteris occurrunt notabilia. Curia curarum genetrix; et schola deliciarum. Illa terrena sapit et ambit insatiabilis; hæc, æternitatis amica et tranquillitatis, modestia est pariter et diligentia commendabilis. Illa, luxu rerum atque libidine ducta, temporalibus agitata nugis, corporis indulget ambitioni; hæc, in tempore tempora cogitans transitoria, hominem attentius imbuit et instruit interiorem. Illa, mundanis plena tumultibus, plena mendaciis, plena malitiis, tanquam in vita mors et Orcus in terra non saturatus, terrenis semper inhians, animos ab alto domicilio depressos dejicit et demittit ad ima; hæc, studiosis addicta deliciis, tanquam in morte vita et Paradisus in terris altera, semper ab imis ad ardua nitens, animos erigit et erudit ad æterna. Quoniam igitur ab hac quasi vitæ forma ad illam mortis imaginem infernique figuram, blandis principum verbis vanisque magis quam veris promissionibus, immo verius seductionibusque, allectus, infausta rerum mutatione transivi, ingruente quoque communi omnium morbo et incurabili fere ambitionis incommodo, præsenti labore de Principis Instructione tanquam remedium doloris libellum explicui, prælibato tamen et paucis exposito miseræ desolationis epilogio præmissoque lugubri quodam planctu et quasi comico carmine a luctuosis deinde ad læta vergente.

Contrast of Court and School.

The author lured to Court by royal promises;

Ad curiam igitur a studio, peccatis exigentibus, a rege vocatus, cui nihil minus menti quam non mentiri, nil desiderio magis quam decipere, quam differre, quam sequentium animos et obsequentium dilationibus cruciare, circa eundem ejusdemque defuncti filium atque hæredem, et utinam non vitiorum irreparabili damno, duo fere lustra consumens, nihil

but is deceived and neglected.

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[1] From the *Symbolum Electorum* in MS. R. 7. 11, Trinity College, Cambridge. See above, p. xvi.

ab illis præter inanes vexationes et vacua veris promissa suscepi. Si quid enim gratiæ morum gravitas, si quid litteræ, si quid industria conferre potuit, totum id suspectum, totum infestum, totum exosum Gualliæ nomen ademit. Tres etenim naturæ partes quanquam ab Anglis et Normannis linea contraxerim originali, totamque præterea convictus, a quo et mores formantur, vim pariter et proprietatem, longam quoque commorandi consuetudinem, quæ et alteram sibi naturam comparare solet, ex quarta tamen parentalis propagationis columna et post tertiam prima tanquam genialis quadrigæ rota a Trojana nobilitate contracta totum infici et modico quasi fermento massam corrumpi semperque in elationem extolli, gens inimica conjectat. Unde et quoniam inter Anglos, ut diximus, nostra tam morum institutio fuerat quam conversatio, in Kambria vero natio reperta est et cognatio, compactum est ex his et confectum, ut uterque populus me sibi tanquam alienum reputans et non suum semper oculo respexerit novercali, alter ob hæc suspectum habens et alter exosum. Accessit et aliud inter incommoda, quod, si quid a nobis egregie dictum vel gestum fuerit, statim, quoad licuit, aut illud invidia suppressit aut malitia pervertendo corrupit, in hujuscemodi plerumque verba prorumpens "a Kambria potestne aliquid boni esse?" Sin autem, humanis ut mos est excessibus, aut pes a linea quandoque titubare aut a littera vel syllaba cadere lingua videbatur, in mediis quoque et indifferentibus, nec laude dignis nec vituperio, statim hostilis irrisio cum exclamatione "Kambriæ vitium" exprobravit, tanquam patriæ cognata fuerit enormitas et innata. Mihi vero visum est et indubitata veritate compertum, quod, sicut nonnullos regio composita malos educat et incompositos, sic aliquem interdum regio barbara bonum producere possit et eruditum, et quia non tam locus personam, quam persona laudabilis locum, illustrat. Ait enim apostolus et apostolorum princeps beati centurionis vocationem admirans, "In veritate," inquit, "comperi quia non est personarum acceptor Deus, sed in "omni gente qui timet Deum et operatur justitiam acceptus "sit illi." Quod et in vase, omni reptilium genere referto, a cœlo coram ipso demisso et ad idem post elevato palam fuit. Unde et, Jeronimo testante, a Jerosolimis et a Britannia æque patet aula cœlestis. Paulus: "Non enim est distinctio "Judæi et Græci; nam idem Dominus omnium dives in "omnes qui invocant illum. Omnis enim quicunque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit." Gregorius: "Non pro "locis res, sed pro rebus loca amanda sunt; quia, si desit "spiritus, nil adjuvat locus. Loth enim in Sodomis sanctus "exstitit, in monte peccavit. Nam si locus salvare potuisset,

His merits nullified by his Welsh origin.

Act. Apost. x. 34.

Rom. x. 12, 13.

"nec Sathan de cœlo cecidisset, nec Adam in Paradiso pec-
"casset." Unde Psalmista, nullum absque Deo locum tutum esse conspiciens, ait: "Esto mihi in Deum protectorem et in "locum munitum, ut salvum me facias." Item Jeronimus super hunc locum Ezechielis: "Plurimæ species piscium ejus, "sicut pisces maris magni multitudinis nimiæ." "Hos," inquit, "pisces ad dexteram partem jubente Domino traxit "Petrus c.l. tres, ut præ multitudine eorum retia rumperentur. Aiunt enim, qui de animantium scripsere naturis, "c.l. tria esse genera piscium, quæ omnia capta sunt ab "apostolis, dum nobiles et ignobiles, pauperes et divites, et "omne genus hominum de mari hujus sæculi extrahunt ad "salutem."

Ps. xxx. 3.

In Ezech., lib. xiv., cap. 47. 10.

Porro quoniam satius est sero pœnitere quam nunquam, curiam devovens in perpetuum ac detestans ejusdemque fallacias decipulas et dolos, ambitiones quoque et assentationes curialibus appropriatas, longe post terga relinquens et vix tandem me mihi restituens, congestis undique bibliothecæ dispersæ thesauris ad studium redii, procelloso tanquam a pelagi profundo tranquillos intra sinuosi portus angulos constitutus; ubi et mea mediocritate contentus atque modestia, deportato penitus plus habendi desiderio, vigilandum duxi propensius et indulgendum parum quidem tempori, sed plurimum æternitati. Liberalibus nempe litterarum studiis olim imbutus, nunc divinis apicibus vehementi animi applicatione datus, eorumque tam regimine quam doctrina non mediocriter delectatus, qui diutinam in aliis sed propter hæc tamen moram feceram, nec inutilem in his denique non solum morari verum etiam mori desiderabile duxerim et percarum, in hujus quippe facultatis præcones egregios et singularis eloquentiæ viros forte inter alios legendo duos incideram, Gregorium Nazianzenum et Gregorium papam. Quorum primus in ejusdem præconia ista depromit: "Hæc est," inquit, "ars artium, scientia "scientiarum, quæ sola scit scire, sola scientes facere, hominem tam regere quam imbuere. Aliæ nimirum facultates "quanquam mentes ad subtilitatem erudiant, nihil tamen "mores ad salutem informant." Alter autem in Moralibus: "Quamvis omnem scientiam atque doctrinam Scriptura Sacra "sine aliqua comparatione transcendat, ut taceam quod vera "prædicat, quod ad cœlestem patriam vocat, quod a terrenis "desideriis ad superna amplectenda cor legentis invitat, quod "dictis obscurioribus exercet fortes et parvulis humili sermone "blanditur, quod nec sic clausa est ut pavesci debeat, nec "sic patet ut vilescat, quod usu fastidium tollit et tanto "amplius diligitur quanto amplius meditatur, quod legentis "animum humilibus verbis adjuvat, sublimibus sensibus

He retires from Court to read theology.

Eulogy of the study of the Scriptures, etc.; with extracts.

Mor. xx. 1.

"levat, quod aliquo modo cum legentibus crescit, et quod a "rudibus lectoribus[1] quasi recognoscitur et tamen doctis "semper nova reperitur, ut ergo de rerum pondere taceam, "scientias tamen omnes atque doctrinas ipso etiam locutionis "suæ more transcendit, quod uno eodemque sermone, dum "narrat textum, prodit mysterium, et sic scit præterita "dicere ut eo ipso noverit futura prædicare, et immutato "dicendi ordine eisdem ipsis sermonibus novit et acta de-"scribere et agenda nuntiare. Sicut hæc eadem beati Job "verba sunt, qui, dum sua dicit, nostra prædicit, dumque "lamenta propria per sermonem indicat, causas sanctæ ec-"clesiæ per intellectum sonat." Cui et illud Augustini super
De Gen. v. 3. Genesim consonare videtur: "Scriptura enim divina altitu-"dine superbos irridet, profunditate attentos tenet, magnos "veritate, parvulos nutrit affabilitate." De qua et Jeronimus in prologo super Job: "Ubi camelus natat, et agnus vadat."
xxix. 11, 12. Item et Isaiam legi dicentem: "Et erit vobis visio omnium, "sicut verba libri signati, quem cum dederint scienti litteras, "dicent, 'Lege istum'; et respondebit, 'non possum, signatus "'est enim.' Et dabitur liber nescienti litteras, diceturque "ei, 'Lege'; et respondebit, 'Nescio litteras.'" Super hunc locum dicit Jeronimus, "Literas nescit, qui sacras literas
xxxiii. 18. "ignorat." Et alibi Isaias: "Ubi est doctor parvulorum? "Populum imprudentem non videbis, populum alti sermonis, "ita ut non possint intelligere disertitudinem linguæ ejus, "in quo nulla est sapientia." Super "populum impruden-"tem" glossat Jeronimus—"gregem Philosophorum"; super "non videbis"—"in ecclesia sanctorum"; super "populum "alti sermonis"—"sicut Platonis, Aristotilis, Tullii facun-"diam et subtilitatem quam pauci intelligunt"; "in quo "(populo scilicet) nulla est sapientia"—"quantum ad Deum, "qui per prophetam ait, 'Perdam sapientium,' etc." Item et
xxiv. 25-27. illud Lucæ in fine fere Evangelii, ubi Dominus duos in via discipulos increpat dicens, "O stulti et tardi corde ad creden-"dum in omnibus quæ locuti sunt prophetæ!" *etc.* Super hunc locum dicit Jeronimus: "Hic gemina nobis humiliandi necessitas "incumbit, qui nec in Scripturis, quantum oportet, edocti, nec "ad implenda quæ novimus, quantum decet, sumus intenti. "Nam si Moises et prophetæ de Christo locuti sunt et eum "per passionem in gloriam intraturum prædixerunt, quomodo "se gloriatur esse Christianum qui neque in Scripturis qua-"liter ad Christum pertineat investigat, neque ad gloriam, "quam cum Christo habere cupit, per passionem desiderat?"

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[1] *lectoribus*] doctoribus, MS.

Præterea in legenda beati Jeronimi legitur, quod raptus fuit cf. Ep. xxii.
in spiritu ad tribunal judicis Christi, et cum ab eo quæsitum 30.
fuisset cujus professionis esset et respondisset Christi, dictum
est ei, "Immo Ciceronianus es, non Christianus," et vapulavit ibidem gravissime, donec in hæc verba prorupit, "Si
"libros gentilium lego, te negabo." Et ut a gentilibus ipsis
testimonium inducamus, audi Senecam dicentem, "Studia Ep. lxxxviii.
"liberalia meritoria artificia sunt, hactenus utilia, si præpa- 2.
"rent ingenium, non detinent. Tam diu enim istis immorandum est, quam diu nihil agere animus majus potest.
"Rudimenta sunt nostra, non opera, liberalia dicta, quia
"homine libero digna sunt. Cæterum unum studium vere
"liberale est, quod liberum facit, hoc est sapientiæ; cætera
"pusilla et puerilia sunt." Et infra: "Non discere debemus ibid. 2.
"ista, sed didicisse." Et infra: "Plus scire velle quam satis ibid. 36.
"sit, intemperantiæ genus est." Item: "Multa sunt quæ ibid. 37.
"si scires etiam dediscenda erant." Item: "Non cogitas ibid. 41, 42.
"quantum temporis tibi auferat mala valitudo, quantum occupatio publica, quantum occupatio privata, quantum occupatio quotidiana, quantum somnus. Metire ætatem tuam;
"tam multa non capit. Ideoque sanioribus eisque quibus
"vitam potius quam linguam erudias animum applices. Philosophi namque diligentius, ut loqui scirent quam vivere,
"studuerunt." Ad hæc etiam apostolus in epistola ad Ro- Hebr. vi.
manos: "Terra enim super se venientem bibens imbrem et 7, 8.
"generans herbam opportunam illis, a quibus colitur, accipit
"benedictionem a Domino; proferens autem spinas ac tribulos
"reprobata est, et maledicto proxima, cujus consummatio in
"combustionem." Qualiter autem per imbrem sacra doctrina, qua terra cordis nostri arida tanquam rore cœlesti riganda est, intelligi debet, quæ quidem, si rara est, non sufficit, si assidua, vilescit, expositorum turba declarat. [Ps. cxviii. 130,
xviii. 8, 9.] Et alibi: "Beatus homo quem tu erudieris, Ps. xciii. 12.
"Domine, et de lege tua docueris eum." Super hoc dicit
Augustinus: "Nota quia eruditio dupliciter fit, scilicet per
"disciplinam tribulationum, unde ait 'quem tu erudieris,' et
"per doctrinam legis, unde ait 'Et de lege tua docueris
"'eum.' Hi autem qui erudiuntur sic, sunt quasi luminaria
"in cœlo; lex enim Dei cœlum est, in quo sunt luminaria
"fixa, id est, sancti meditando in lege, ne moveri queant, qui
lucent in medio hujus nationis pravæ et perversæ, sine querela fixi in cœlo. [Philipp. ii. 14; Daniel, xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43;
Philipp. iii. 20.] De hoc autem cœlo alibi dicitur: "Exten- Ps. ciii. 2.
"dens cœlum sicut pellem." Hic enim extenditur liber Dei
ut pellis, ut in eo legatur quod modo necesse est. Cum autem in futuro omnes scient Deum, cœlum sicut liber plica-

Ep. liii. ad Paulinum. bitur. Unde Jeronimus ad fratrem Ambrosium in prologo Bibliothecæ enumeratis utriusque tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti libris: "Oro te, frater carissime, inter hæc vivere, "ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere. Nonne tibi "videtur jam hic in terris regni cœlestis habitaculum?"

Si ergo lex Domini immaculata, si sapientiam parvulis præstat et intellectum, si præceptum lucidum, convertens animas et oculos illuminans, si nunc cœlum a sanctis merito censetur, nunc regni cœlestis habitaculum, si beati qui in hac lege erudiuntur adeo ut quasi luminaria fulgeant in cœlo fixa et quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates, cum mundi esse jubeantur qui ferunt vasa Domini, quanto magis mundi esse tenentur qui verba Domini vel docendo ferunt vel discendo? Sicut et ex illo Jeronimi super Ezechielem aperte colligi po-
In Ezech. xlvi. 20. test. "Sanctificetur," inquit, "populus, qui scilicet sanctifi- "cationi non fuerat præparatus, ne facile non sanctificatis "sancta tribuamus, ne margaritas ante porcos mittamus, ne "canibus sanctum demus. Unde Moises tribus diebus ab "omni immunditia et ab uxorum complexu populum vult "sanctificari, ut accedat ad montem Sina et sanctificatus "sancta suscipiat (quoniam est tempus amplexandi, est tempus "longe fieri ab amplexibus). Si autem accessuri ad audienda "verba Dei et suscipienda sanctificari jubentur ab uxoribus, "manifestum est et in Lege illud apostolicum contineri:
Cor. vii. 5. "'Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu, ut vacetis "'orationi'; quoniam et ex consensu abstinendum ab uxori- "bus, ut vacemus orationi." Ex quibus aperte datur intelligi quod, si ab uxorum amplexu audituri verba Domini ex præcepto legis abstinere tenentur, multo fortius, divinis apicibus indulgentes et verbum Domini quotidie audientes et avide suscipientes, a fornicariis amplexibus et immunditiis cunctis abstinere tenentur. Et si illi, de quibus apostolus, a legitimis, ut digne vacent orationi, quanto magis isti ab illicitis, ut sacræ vacare valeant lectioni. Debent enim sine macula, debent et sine nequitia pie ac pure incedere, qui in lege Domini
Ps. cxviii. 1, 2. volunt ambulare. Juxta prophetam dicentem: "Beati imma- "culati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini; beati qui "scrutantur testimonia ejus, in toto corde exquirunt eum." Quasi dicat, "Beati qui scrutantur; si tamen exquirunt eum, "non aliud." Propter hoc enim scrutanda sunt testimonia, ut Deus inveniatur. Intellectus enim bonus omnibus facientibus eum; aliter inanis est labor, ut qui volunt esse docti, non justi, unde gloria sit illis apud homines, non apud Deum. Item [Ps. cxviii. 3, 101, 115, 163]. Unde alibi: "Quærent "me mali et non invenient." Simplicem mentem et defæcatum animum diligit Christus. Non potest immaculatæ virtuti

ullum cum maculosis contubernium esse flagitiis. Item: "Confitebor tibi in directione cordis in eo quod didici judicia justitiæ tuæ." Hoc est, "Laudabo te in eo quod didici "judicia justiciæ tuæ." Si tamen in directione cordis, id est, si dirigitur cor ad custodiendum, quia aliter non inde lætarer, sed accusarer. Nam quid mihi proderit, quod ea didicerim, si corde perverso vias pravas habuero? Lotis quippe manibus accedendum est ad mensam Sacræ Scripturæ, quia non ardet, non incendit; pectus enim frigidum non capit ignitum eloquium. [Ps. xi. 7, cxviii. 140.] "Ignitum" intellige Spiritu Sancto; purgat enim videlicet, ait expositor, corda, ut fornax aurum, accendit ad amorem Dei et contra impios illuminat etiam audientes. Hunc ignem venit Dominus mittere in terram, hoc igne calefactus Jeremias dicit: "Erat ignis "flammigerans[1] in ossibus meis." Hoc igne urebatur rubusque quem vidit Moyses et non exurebatur. Urit enim sermo divinus ut corrigat conscientiam peccatoris, sed non exurit ut perdat. Hoc igne vaporati Cleophas et alius discipulus dicebant, "Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis?" Hic ignis super apostolos die Pentecostes cœlitus descendit, quia hoc igne exardere debent, qui eloquia Dei annunciant. Inde est quod fila rubea dependent ex duabus lingulis mitræ pontificalis; sicut enim per duas lingulas signatur, quod nova et vetera de thesauro cordis sui proferre debent, ita in rubeo colore filorum signatur ignis caritatis, quam in se habere et in aliis accendere debent. Unde Petro post trinam Dominicæ dilectionis professionem pastoralis cura creditur. Et unde est, quod Romanus pontifex capa rubea induitur, quia totus igne caritatis ardere debet, et omnia ex caritate facere, animo quoque martirio non deesse, gerens Christi personam, cujus vestimentum est sicut calcantium in torculari, qui ait, "Torcular "calcavi solus." Item Job [xxxi. 24, 35, 36, with Greg. Moralia, xxii. 4, 5, 19]. Item Jeronimus super Matthæum: "Non scientia Scripturarum notum Deo facit, quem operum "iniquitas indignum ostendit."

Ps. cxviii. 7.

x. 9.

Isai. lxiii. 2, 3.

His igitur et similibus Sacræ Scripturæ titulis non inefficaciter allectus, a curiis et curis sæculariumque disciplinarum voluptatibus felici demum mutatione ad cor altum accedens, in portu navigare post naufragium cœpi, intra me ipsum, gratia dante, me colligens et in Domino quidem plena securitate quiescens. Illud quoque Plinii secundi nobilis hujus aggressus desiderium non mediocriter adauxit, et quasi scintillam in igniculum, ignem autem in caminum, tanquam folli-

Having left Court he is at rest.

Extracts in praise of study and a quiet life.

[1] *flammigerans*] exæstuans claususque, Vulg.

Ep. i. 9. 6-7. bus quibusdam et ventilabro, suscitavit. Ait enim: "Strepitum "inanemque discursum et ineptos labores, ut primum occasio "fuerit, relinque, teque studiis trade; quia dulce honestum- "que otium ac pæne omni negotio pulchrius est studere." Et illud ejusdem: "Nulla tibi temporis asperitas studii tempus "eripiat; nam petit omne tempus quod studiis non imperti- Plin. Ep. i. 9. 8. "tur." Item: "Satius est, ut Attilius eruditissime et facetis- "sime dixit, otiosum esse quam nihil agere." Et illud Tusc. v. 36. 105. Ciceronis: "Nihil est dulcius litterato otio." Item Seneca de Ep. lxxxii. 2. Moribus: "Otium sine litteris mors est et hominis vivi sepul- "tura." Cui et illud Sidonii concordare videtur: "Turba "quamlibet magna litterariæ artis expers maxima solitudo "appellanda est." Unde et ex contrario Socrates sensu se nunquam minus solum quam cum solus exstiterat esse dicebat. Ep. i. 3. 3. Item Plinius: "Humiles et sordidas curas aliis manda; ipse "te in arduo sublimique secessu studiis asseras." Huic autem haud dissimile videtur illud apostoli in prima ad Corinthios 1 Cor. vi. 4. epistola: "Sæcularia judicia si habueritis, contemptibiles qui "sunt in ecclesia constituite ad judicandum." Super hunc locum dicit Augustinus: "Christum enim testem invoco quo- "niam mallem per singulos dies certis horis aliquid operari "manibus et cæteras horas habere liberas ad legendum et "orandum, vel ad agendum aliquid de divinis litteris, quam "tumultuosissimas perplexitates causarum pati de negotiis "sæcularibus vel judicando dirimendis vel interveniendo præ- 1 Cor. vi. 7. "scidendis." Item apostolus ibidem: "Jam quidem omnino "delictum est in vobis, quod judicia habetis inter vos. Quare "non magis fraudem patimini?" De quo Augustinus: "Ex hoc "apparet quia peccatum est judicium habere contra aliquem." Quia et Dominus ait: "Si quis voluerit tunicam tuam tollere "et judicio tecum contendere, dimitte illi et pallium." Et alibi: "Qui abstulerit tua, noli repetere." Quin immo et eodem "docente didicimus: "Qui te percusserit in unam maxillam, "præbe ei et alteram." Item Augustinus: "Hi terrenas cf. Rab. Maur. in 1 Cor. vi. "causas examinent, qui exteriorum rerum sapientiam percep- "erunt. Qui autem spiritualibus donis ditati sunt, terrenis "non debent negotiis implicari, ut, dum non coguntur infe- "riora bona disponere, valeant bonis superioribus deservire." "Juxta illud apostoli: 'Nemo militans Deo implicat se sæcular- "ibus negotiis.' Sed tamen curandum magnopere est, ut hi qui "donis spiritualibus emicant nequaquam proximorum infir- "mantium negotia funditus deserant, sed hæc aliis quibus "dignum est tractanda committant, vel etiam priusquam "periclitentur per se gerant." Ut autem illud apostoli, "Delictum est in vobis, quod judicia habetis inter vos," quam illud Augustini, "Peccatum est judicium habere contra ali-

"quem," sane intelligantur, breviter advertendum, quid perfectis circa hujusmodi conveniat, quid infirmis. Perfectis igitur licet repetere sua simpliciter scilicet sine causa, sine lite, sine judicio, sed non convenit eis inde coram judice litigare. Infirmis vero licet repetere sua movendo causam ante judicem, et judicium habendo contra fratrem, sed non contentiose, non fraudulenter. Præmissis etiam concordare videtur hoc, quod in Exodo legitur: "Altera die sedit Moyses ut judicaret "populum," *etc.* Nec alienum etiam ab his esse videtur, quod in Actibus Apostolorum legitur, apostolos vii. diaconos ad mensarum officia constituisse, ut ipsi orationi et ministerio verbi instantes esse valerent. Super quod Rabanus: "Ostendunt apostoli episcopos et doctores ecclesiæ non debere "implicari rebus corporalibus"; et subsequenter, "Meliora "sunt fercula mentis quam dapes corporis." In hoc itaque statu animum constitui, ut, temporalibus ad necessitatem utens non voluptatem, eorundem nec affluentia delectetur nec casibus adversis dejiciatur. Solum id suppetat, quod studium nutriat, non impediat, quod nobilis operæ diligentiam non opulentia suffocet, sed mediocritate supportet. Sed, ut illo Senecæ ad Lucilium utamur: "Quid refert qualis sit status tuus, si tibi "videtur malus? Omnis stultitia laborat fastidio sui." Sidonius: "Naufragioso pelago conformis est motus animorum, "turbinibus adversis quasi propria tempestate confunditur. "Illis itaque qui ad ampliora semper anhelant vel nullus est "status vel non bonus. Quis enim dicat quod ibi sit status, "ubi non stat animus? Non enim plus habere sed plus habendi "desiderio carere divitem animum facit. Magna nimirum "indigentia ex magna copia nascitur; opus est enim multorum "ope ad multas opes tuendas, multoque indigebis adminiculo "ad multa regenda quæ possideas. Unde ad bene beateque "vivendum jactura magis opus est quam quæstu, minuique "acervum potius quam augeri, minusque ut habeas, ut minus "desit." Juxta illud poetæ:

Exod. xviii. 13-24.

"Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
"Majorumque fames. Multa petentibus
"Desunt multa. Bene est cui Deus optulit
"Parca, quod satis est, manu."

Hor. Carm. III., xvi. 17, 18, 42-44.

Utrum ergo præstantius, oro, paucis his quibus auram carpimus annis ex paupere cœna parvoque tugurio perennem sibi exsculpare laudis honorem, an hodie palatiis oculos, deliciis ventrem pascere, cras vero bestias et vermes hereditare, et pecorum more sine laude memoriaque perire? Si quis igitur ad curias seu curiosas cupiditates me de cætero vocet, illud Horatii ad Mæcenatem audiat:

1 Epp. xviii. 107–110. "Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
"Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt di;
"Sit mihi librorum et provisæ frugis in annum
"Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus horæ."

Audiat et Ovidii consilium:

Trist. iii. 43. "Usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico,
"Vive tibi, et longe nomina magna fuge."

Et illud ejusdem:

ib. 25. "Crede mihi; bene qui latuit, bene vixit; et infra
"Fortunam debet quisque manere suam."

Et illud Horatii:

1 Epp. x. 30. "Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundæ,
"Mutatæ quatient. Si quid mirabere, pones
"Invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
"Reges et regum vita præcurrere amicos."

xxiii. 4. Item et illud Salomonis in Parabolis: "Noli laborare ut diteris; sed pone prudentiæ tuæ modum." Nec tantum divitem esse, quin immo divitum familiaritatem habere, minime est appetendum sapienti. Unde Demetrius: "Non opto ut eos qui divites sunt amicos habeam." Jeronimus: "Potentes amicos habere sumptuosum est; satis est inimicos non habere." Horatius:

1 Epp. xviii. 86. "Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;
"Expertus metuet."

Novit autem Dominus quæ necessaria sunt ad salutem et quæ contraria, ideoque electis suis mundanam plerumque, quanquam invitis, subtrahit opulentiam, rerumque temporalium, quia nonnullos elongat a salute, submovet affluentiam, et, odibile bonum, paupertatem, quia comes et collactanea virtutum est, clementer indulget. Scriptum est enim et Luke vi. 20, 21. a Domino dictum: "Beati pauperes. Beati, qui nunc lugetis." Et per Psalmistam [x. 17, 18, lxxi. 13]. Et sic in multis Sacræ Scripturæ locis invenies paupertatis, sicut et humilitatis, commendationem. Sed nec in Veteris Instrumenti nec in Novi serie reperisse me recolo, "Beati divites, Luke vi. 24, 25. beati qui nunc gaudetis." Invenies autem, "Væ vobis divitibus, qui hic habetis consolationem," *etc.* Et illud, "Væ vobis qui saturati estis, quia esurietis." Et de divite ac Luke xvi. 25. Lazaro, "Memento, fili, quia recepisti bona in vita tua, et Lazarus similiter mala. Nunc autem hic consolatur, tu vero cruciaris." Pius itaque Pater et medicus, noster vere pater et plasmator, patre quolibet longe pietate benignior, et medicus quidem omni Ypocrate medendo præstantior, noxia sponte submovens et profutura concedens, filios ut castiget et emun-

det, variis tribulationibus et penuriis flagellat, interdum et affligit. Ægrotis quoque pocula propinans amara, et quasi vulneratis calibata manu dolore perutili nunc ossa radens, nunc carnes resecans, non parcit, ut parcat,[1] et impietate piissima sævit atrociter, ut misereatur. Ne tamen quasi invectiones in divites scribere videar, confidenter dixerim quia neque ex sui ipsius natura vel paupertas præstat vel adimunt divitiæ sanctitatem; nec perfectum obscuritas, nec reprobum claritas, facit; nec claudit libertas, nec reserat servitus Paradisum. Primus patriarcharum Abraham et dives scribitur et perfectus, cujus fides admirabilis et obedientia imitabilis in rerum omnium copia prædicatur. Joseph dominus Egipti constitutus a rege universo orbi præbuit castitatis exemplum. Sanctus Job qualis fuerit in divitiis, earum probavit ademptio, quem morbus corporis, temptatio uxoris, amicorum exprobratio spectabili reddidit patientia clariorem. Rex David, quo nemo ditior, sed nemo sanctior, quo nullus sublimior, sed humilior nullus, et inter thesauros innumeros sepelitur et inter Dei amicos cæteris gratior reperitur. Vir enim Deo dignus et juxta cor inventus, haud aliter vixit quam scripsit, simul in unum dives et pauper. Talibus igitur, qui inter divitias, tanquam egeni, paupertatem spiritus habentes non eis extolluntur, sed bene utendo potius humiliantur, causam præstant opes et materiam ad salutem. Juxta illud Jeronimi: "Episcopus humilitate decrescat, non intu- Ep. lxix. 8.
"mescat fastigio." Et illud Senecæ: "Magnus is est, qui "sic auro utitur ut fictilibus; nec minor ille, qui ita fictili- "bus ut auro." Novit itaque Dominus quæ quibus ingeniis conveniant, conferens electo cuique juxta gratiarum divisiones, quæ magis accommoda fuerint ad salutem; reprobis enim in temporalibus obtemperando, ut qui in sordibus sunt sordescant adhuc, pœnales in omnem voluptatis illecebram laxat habenas.

He means to produce a great work.

Firmatis igitur et fundatis in hunc modum atque modestiam animis, producendi in publicum mentis eruditæ sunt thesauri, quibus, tanquam in speculis, nostra diligentia consideretur, ejusdemque beneficio nobili, quam distributio non minuit, possessione omnis ætas futura ditetur. Et quoniam diu vivere datum non est, id elaborandum in hac vita brevissima, ut aliquo egregio conamine memoriaque digno et gloria nos saltem vixisse testemur.

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[1] *parcat*] carnes parcat, MS., but the first word underlined.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 12, l. 4 from bottom. *For* ictum, *read* dictum.
,, 18, l. 6 from bottom. *Insert comma after* etenim.
,, 165, side-note. *Delete full stop after* queen.
,, 172, l. 22. *For* emersis, *read* sic emersis.
,, 185, l. 19. *For* nimis, *read* minis.
,, 233, side-note. *After* retaining, *insert* Auvergne.
,, 239, side-note. *For* Sept., *read* Nov.
,, 282, side-note. *After* La Ferté, *insert* Bernard.
,, 307, note 1. *Add*: The reading is "stagno" in the *Itin. Kamb.* (vol. vi. p. 19), where the same story is given.
,, 373, l. 4 from bottom. *Annotate:* These verses on Rome are by Hildebert of Le Mans. See also W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, ii. p. 403.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS
LIBER DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE.

U 61324. Wt. 18672. A

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA PRIMÆ DISTINCTIONIS.

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO PRIMA. f. 48.

De Principis instructione tractatum edere me compulit id præcipue, quod in principum moribus et prælatorum, qui alios tam exemplo quam potestate regere tenentur et informare, quod digne reprehendi possit plus invenio. Quis enim hodie princeps, qui non indultam desuper potestatem ad omnes animi motus, ad omnem carnis libitum ac luxum, ad omnem pravæ tyrannidis atrocitatem, indifferenter extendat, et, tanquam quicquid libet liceat, velut æquis ambulantia passibus posse pariter et velle non metiatur? Quis hodie princeps, qui regum inunctionis sacramentum, qui coronam et sceptrum et insignia singula, quid sibi velint, attendat? Proinde et in veterum scriptis principes illiterati tanquam asini censentur coronati. Quis enim hodie princeps, qui principium exile, medium fragile ac corruptibile, cadaver post exitum vile cogitet? Juxta illud philosophicum responsum tyranno, qui quasi de duce nuper inunctus fuerat in regem de rege statim sublimandus in imperatorem, jactabunde quærenti "Quid fui, quid sum, quid ero?"—"Vile "sperma, vas stercorum, esca vermium." Dicitur enim Alexandro Macedoni, gradatim ad dignitates ascendenti et inde jactanti ac glorianti, a Dionysio philosopho sic responsum fuisse.

Motive of the work.

Character of modern princes

Præterea quis hodie prælatus, qui canonicam illam pastoralis viri descriptionem vel in paucis adimpleat? Quis orphanorum et pupillorum sustentator? Quis bonorum ecclesiæ fidelis dispensator? Et, ut de anima pro ovibus ponenda taceam, quis hodie pastor, qui,

and prelates.

lacte solum et lana perceptis, debitam gregis sollicitudinem vel in modico gerat? Paucos etenim in partibus nostris prælatos hodie videmus, qui non fiscalibus longe propensius quam episcopalibus curis indulgeant. Sunt quippe pastores qui non pascere quærunt, sed pasci; sunt prælati qui præesse cupiunt, non prodesse; f. 48 b. sunt episcopi qui non omen dignitatis sed nomen, non onus sed honorem amplectuntur. Tales itaque principes talesque prælati nostro nunc causam[1] calamo donant.

The work in three parts.

Est ergo trimembris operis hujus distinctio: prima de principe instruendo per varia auctorum, tam theologorum quam ethnicorum et ethicorum, testimonia doctrinam continet et præcepta; secunda vero et tertia rationem docent regiminis per exempla.

Dedicated to posterity;

Sed quoniam opuscula nostra quæ juveniles olim anni ambitu pleni laboriose produxerant, alia principibus edita fuerant, alia prælatis et infructuose—scriptis hodie novis, quanquam egregiis, innata finalis temporis hujus malitia odium auctoribus, invidiam pariter et offensam, non præmium aut gratiam comparantibus—hos aliosque conatus nostros, quos divino dante favore nostra de cætero parere poterit diligentia, posteritati, quæ dignis saltem et absque livore laudum præconiis litteratos cujusque labores extollet, præsentabimus, illud nobile Ciceronis eulogium semper ad animum revocantes, "Præsentes fructus contemnamus, posteri-"tatis gloriæ serviamus"; ut illud ejusdem, "Vitæ "brevis est cursus, gloriæ sempiternus." Et illud cogitemus, corpus esse mortale, animi vero motus et virtutis gloriam sempiternam. Et illud Plinii, "Quic-"quid agas, semper gloria sit tibi ante oculos et "æternitas."

if to any prince, to Louis of France.

Cæterum si cuipiam modernorum principum opuscula nostra, quæ provectior ætas elaboraverit, præsentanda

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[1] *causam*] causa in, MS.

fuerint, unum elegimus, cui præ cæteris digne magis præsentari posse videntur, Ludowicum scilicet Philippi Francorum regis filium primævum: tum quia litteris et liberalibus studiis affatim est a teneris annis imbutus (quæ virtus quidem, quanto in principibus est hodie rarior, tanto, ubi affuerit, longe pretiosior et præclarior), tum etiam quia liberalitate conspicuus; quæ duo revera, tanquam aurum gemmæ, sic principis animum decenter exornant. Quanquam tamen in nobis jam ætas infirmior, et metæ finalis cursus affinior, liberales et largos ad remunerandum litterati labores ingenii non illaudabiles nec exspectat amodo, nec exspectat[1] retributiones.

The greatest princes the most devoted to literature.

Quam sint autem principibus appetibilia litterarum notitia liberaliaque studia, principum electorum exempla docent et ad hoc invitant[2] evidentissima, qui quanto litteratiores erant et eruditiores, tanto in rebus bellicis animosiores exstiterant et strenuiores. Veluti Macedonum dux Alexander egregius, Romanorum Cæsar Julius, necnon et nepos ejusdem Augustus Octavianus, qui liberalibus studiis, præsertim eloquentiæ, in tantum incumbebat,[3] ut nullus neque in procinctu laberetur dies quin legeret, scriberet, dictaret; et ut ad propiora f. 49. respiciamus nostris diebus tempora longe[que] propinquiora, Francorum rex et Alemannorum Carolus Magnus, qui quidem, Alquino testante, non solum juvenibus annis inter arma martia et imperialia negotia tanta, vero et in ipso senio, dictum Alquinum præcipuum præceptorem habens et eruditorem, libris et litteris animum applicare non cessabat, quicquid temporis arduis rebus agendis supererat id totum studio donans.

Laus itaque virens et convenientia dicens quod regni princeps, quo præ cæteris regnis militia viget utraque, tam armata quam togata, tam martia scilicet quam litterata, studio floreat et præcellat utroque. Illud

[1] *exspectat*] expetit, ed. Brewer.
[2] *invitant*] invitavit, MS.
[3] *incumbebat*] incumbens, MS.

quoque dignum est nota, quod philosophiæ militiæque se comitari semper studia solent, sicut in Græcia sub Macedone, sicut sub Cæsaribus Romæ, sicut et olim in Francia sub Pipinis, Carolis et sub eorundem usque in hodiernum regia prole.

EXPLICIT PRÆFATIO PRIMA.

Cap. I.

De principis moderamine.

Of the governing of a prince.

In apibus rex unus est; grues unam sequuntur ordine litterato; taurus armentis, aries in grege, equus equitio præminet emissarius. Nec solum in apibus, avibus aut brutis animalibus, verum in hominibus ingenio ingentibus et ratione principalis potestas est necessaria. Quod enim regnum vel in se divisum vel debito regimine destitutum statim desolationi non subjacet exitiali? [Prov. xi. 14; Rom. xiii. 1, 2.] Item et Egesippus, "Paucis præesse natura dedit, pluribus "obtemperare. Tauri armentis eminent, arietes gre"gibus; penes paucos eminentia, penes plurimos "mansuetudo." Urbs Romulea primo per reges, deinde per consules, demum regi statuit per dictatores. Imperiale nimirum tam nomen quam omen sola sibi usurpavit ambitio. Nunquam tamen Romana res publica per consortes in tantam excrevit amplitudinis gloriam sicut per unicam imperatoriæ moderationis potestatem. Nec solum terrena, verum etiam tam ima quam superna, principali potestate distinguitur. In angelorum choris archangelos reperis, dominationes, principatus et potestates; Tartareis quoque sedibus maligni spiritus tanto sunt malitia præstantiores et potentiores quanto prævaricatori fuerant angelo prava voluntate conjunctiores. "Dum enim durat mundus," ut ait Augustinus super Epistolam ad Corinthios primam, "angeli angelis, dæmones dæmonibus, hominibus

Princely power everywhere necessary, among brutes as well as mankind,

in heaven and in hell.

"homines præsunt; sed omnibus collectis jam omnis "prælatio cessabit." Dominationis[1] tamen intellige, non dignitatis, quia semper Lino dignior Petrus; "sunt enim in domo Patris mansiones multæ." Cum autem morum venustas cuilibet ad se regendum apprime in vita sit utilis et accommoda, nulli tamen adeo ut illi qui multitudinem regit est necessaria; ideoque rex a regendo dicitur, quia primo se ipsum, deinde populum sibi subditum, regere tenetur. [Horat., Epp. II. i. 1–4.] Principem igitur instruere præsumens et prælatum, sabuli forte cinerumque vices assumo, quæ purgare solent, quanquam impura, subjectasque attritu materias, luce carentia, lucidas reddunt. Sicut et alia quoque naturæ consimilis multa reperies, quod quidem in se non habent aliis conferentia. Satyricus clamat, "Fungar vice cotis," *etc.* Unde Gregorius in Moralibus, "Depinxi pulchrum hominem, "pictor fœdus." Princeps igitur in eminenti specula constitutus tanquam omnium obtuitus in se noverit esse conversos, sic os, sic oculos, sic membra singula gestusque corporis omnes, ut nec unum in tot millibus oculum offendat, regere tenetur et moderari. Cum autem in cunctis sit modus observandus atque modestia, in nullo magis actu humano opus est observantia quam sermone. Quid enim magis familiare sapienti et præcipue principi quam pro locis et temporibus aptare sermones? [Prov. xv. 1, 2, x. 18, 19, xiii. 3.]

f. 49 *b*.

Moral beauty especially useful and necessary to one who rules others.

Hor., Ars Poet. 304, 305.

He is bound so to act as to offend no one, and particularly in speech.

Cap. II.

De principis mansuetudine.

Ornat autem cæteras in principe virtutes mansuetudo. Quid enim pulchrius, quid decentius quam hominem qui super homines est constitutus se tamen inter homines et tanquam de cœtu hominum censeri

Of the mildness of a prince.

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[1] *Dominationis*] Dominationes, MS.

velle, eumque qui multitudini præest plebi subjectæ ultroneo liberalitatis motu condescendere interdum ac morem gerere. Juxta illud in Ecclesiastico, "Ducem "te[1] constituerunt. Ne eleveris; sed esto inter eos "quasi unus ex ipsis." Et sub imperatoris persona in Jure scriptum est, "Quanquam legibus soluti simus, "attamen legibus vivere volumus"; et alibi, "Digna "vox majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se prin- f. 50. "cipem profiteri. Adeo de auctoritate juris nostra "pendet auctoritas, et revera magis imperio est sub- "mittere legibus principatum, et oraculo præsentis "edicti quod nobis licere non patimur judicamus."[2] Et iterum, "Licet enim lex imperii sollemnibus juribus "imperatorem solverit, nihil tamen tam proprium "imperii est quam legibus vivere," etc. Pulchra liberalitas Gaii Cæsaris erat, quam Plinius exprimit his verbis: "Auditorium Tullii Julius Cæsar intravit. Cui "cum assurgeret Tullius, Cæsar inhibens ait, 'Non "'assurgas mihi; major est enim sapientia quam po- "'tentia.' Cui respondit Tullius, 'Orbis victori non "'assurgam?' Cui Cæsar, 'At tu majorem lauream "'adeptus es, quanto majus est propagasse terminos "'Romani ingenii quam Romani imperii.' Cujus "verbi occasione a Cæsare lex instituta est, ut nemo "codicem tenens cuiquam assurgat." Item refert
iii. 7. 11. Valerius Maximus quoniam Accius poeta Julio Cæsari in collegium poetarum venienti non assurgebat. Interrogatus cur tantæ majestati supersederit, respondit, "Inferior superiori assurgit, par pari convenit; sapi- "entia incomparabilis præcellit." Quod et Julius nihil indignatus tam dictum quam et dicentem commendavit. Item adducti sunt Julio pueri duo, mas et fœmina, ad miraculum usque simillimi; quos cum ambos inspexisset, tandem imperiali donatos munifi-

Amenity of the Roman emperors to the laws.

Cod. Justin., lib. i. tit. 14. 4.

Liberal spirit of Julius Cæsar,

[1] *Ducem te*] Ducente, MS. The passage is not in Ecclesiasticus.

[2] This is quoted again below, cap. xix.

centia remisit cum his versibus,[1] "Ite pares pariter, "paribus sudate medullis," *etc.* Idem de filio regis Thraciæ,[2] "Thrax puer astricto glacie dum ludit in "Hebro," *etc.*, pulchræ satis ac litteratæ liberalitatis indicio nunciatum sibi tam novi casus eventum metricis versibus prosequendo. De Augusti liberalitate quoque in Saturnalibus legitur quod "veteranus[3] quidam "... videri." Item Augustus Cæsar, cum descendenti illi per Viam Sacram quidam desperatus diceret, "Tyranne," hoc ei tantum, nihil exasperatus, respondit, "Si essem," inquit, "non diceres," etc.

and of Augustus.

De Augusti liberalitate.

f. 50 *b*.

Principalibus itaque viris induatur humanitas in conclavi. In concione nimirum majestas solum nobilitatis honore venustetur et veneretur; eoque moderamine status uterque regatur, ut in publico dignitas appareat, in privato natura. Legitur enim quia, sublimato in consulem Romanum senatoris cujusdam filio, pater ei palam cum omni reverentia principi debita devotus inter alios assistebat, patris omnino tam potestatem in filium quam naturam dissimulando; domi vero quasi dignitatis prorsus ignarus paternam in ipsum more solito auctoritatem in omnibus exercebat. Interrogatus autem cur hoc fecisset, respondit, "In publico dignitas, in "privato natura," et cætera. "Noverimus autem," ut ait Ambrosius, "nihil tam utile quam diligi, nihil tam "inutile quam non amari, ... quam illum pro "omnibus," et cætera. Expedit itaque viro principali regis exemplo David diligi potius a subditis quam timeri; expedit siquidem et timeri, dum tamen ex dilectione potius timor ille perveniat quam coercione. Quicquid enim teneris affectibus adamatur, consequens est ut et timeatur; quod autem timetur, non statim

A prince should be dignified in public and easy in private.

De Officiis, ii. 7.

f. 51.

A prince ought to be loved rather than feared.

[1] *Anthol. Latina*, ed. Riese, No. 711, ll. 1–3, attributed to Gallienus.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 709, ll. 1–6, attributed to Germanicus Cæsar.

[3] Macrobius, Saturnalia, II. iv. 27 (ed. Janus, ii. p. 242).

et amatur. Sic itaque timor cum dilectione temperetur, ut nec remissa liberalitas lentescat in teporem, nec insolenti rigore violenter extortus timor in tyrannidem convertatur.

Cap. III.

De principis verecundia.

Of the shame of a prince.

Mansuetudini vero cognatam et annexam æstimo verecundiam; quæ quoniam ingenuos prodit natales et ingenuitatis ingenia magno opere decet, ejusdem quoque immorari partibus delectabile duxi. Quid enim familiarius viro magnifico quam nihil quod pudorem incutiat vel in se gerere vel ab alio gestum cernere aut relatum etiam audire velle? Sicut enim Ambrosius in Libro de Officiis ait, ut ejusdem etiam hic verbis utamur, "Bonorum adolescentium est timorem "Dei habere. . . . Pulchra igitur virtus est et "suavis gratia verecundia"; et quæ non solum adolescentiam sed et omnem decet[1] tam ætatem quam dignitatem. Ad hæc etiam tanta verecundiæ vis est ut quorundam animos, præcipue vero nobilium ac liberalium, magis verecundia quam metus erudiat suaque efficacius dote mores informet. Unde Jeronimus, "Ingenia[2] liberalium facilius educat verecundia quam "metus exsuperat, et quos tormenta non vincunt, "interdum vincit pudor"; et alibi, "Sæpe quem non "correxit objurgatio, emendat pudor." De qua sententia et a quodam sapiente pulchre satis et ornate ictum est, "Ingenua ingenia magis timent verba quam "verbera." . . .

De Offic. i. 17, 18.

Epist. lxvi.

Epist. cviii.

Here follows a long series of extracts from St. Ambrose, De Officiis, i. 18 (Migne, xvi. 43–47).

[1] *decet*] doceat, MS.

[2] *Ingenia . . . educata*] Ingenia liberaliter educata facilius, Jer. (Migne, *Patrologia Lat.*, xxii. 642).

. . . Hactenus autem in verecundiæ partibus moram fecisse sufficiat, quæ cum sit omnibus ætatibus, personis et locis idonea, tamen adolescentes annosque juveniles maxime decet. In omni autem servandum ætate, ut deceat quod agas, et conveniat et quadret sibi ordo vitæ tuæ. f. 52 b.

Cap. IV.

De principis pudicitia.

Quoniam autem verecundiam ac pudicitiam speciali quadam familiaritatis gratia constat esse connexas, et, sicut verecundia dicitur quia pudenda incurrere veretur et pœnitenda, sic a pudore vitando pudicitia nomen contrahit et naturam, de pudicitia consequenter post verecundiam agere competens ordo deposcit. Viros autem in eminenti specula constitutos, quorum facta palam populos provocant ad exempla, quid magis quam pudicitia decet? Quoniam, ut ait Sallustius,[1] "Si "libido animum possidet, ea dominatur; nemo enim "unquam libidini simul et usui paruit." Quod et in tribus Augustis, Gaio Caligula, Nerone et Vitellio, libidini datis palam fuit; quorum Gaius sorore se polluit, Nero quoque tam sorore quam matre. Horum autem trium duo gladiis cecidere alienis, tertius autem, scilicet matricida, proprio se pertulit ense. Ad detestationem autem libidinis Senecam audi: "Voluptas enim "fragilis est et brevis . . . membrorum turpium "ministerio veniens, exitu fœda." Illud quidem abominabile est, propter fœtidum scortum et ignominiosam corporis partem, animæ liberalitatem in serviles delicias declinare et laborem suum alienas delicias facere. . . .

Of the chastity of a prince.

The tyranny of lust.

De Beneficiis, vii. 2.

Here follows the story of Demosthenes and Lais of Corinth, taken almost verbally from Aulus Gellius,

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[1] Catilina, cap. 51; but, as usual, the quotation is not exact.

Noctes Atticæ, i. 8, *but attributed to St. Jerome, the courtesan's name, moreover, being given as Tais.*

De Cons. Phil., iii., prosa 7.

. . . Boethius: "Quid de corporeis voluptatibus "loquar, quarum appetitus plenus est anxietate, satie-"tas pœnitudine?"[1] Libidinis itaque descriptio hæc esse potest: libido est res turpis et humilis, ex turpium membrorum operatione prosiliens, exitu fœda, cujus effectu necessario vel pudor sequitur vel pœnitentia. Tullius: "Ideo semper in promptu habeat vir fortis, "qualiter natura hominis bestiis antecedat . . . "occultat appetitum voluptatis propter verecundiam." Idcirco fugiamus blandissimam voluptatem dominam; nam voluptates blandissimæ dominæ maximas partes a virtute detorquent. Cum autem in omni homine atque conditione turpis ac vilis sit impudicitia, in principe tamen, quo magis apparet, est turpissima, quæ non solum lædit facto, sed longe gravius corrumpit exemplo. Unde Julius in oratione pro Catilina, "Sed "alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui[2] demissi "in obscuro vitam agunt, quorum[3] et virtutes ut ap-"pareant diu luctantur et vitia tenebras habent, si "quid deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna "eorum pares sunt. Qui vero magno imperio præ-"diti in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti "mortales novere. In maxima fortuna, minima licentia "est." . . .

Its foulness and shame.

De Offic. i. 30, 105.

f. 53.

Most shameful in a prince.

Sallust, Catil., cap. 51.

Here follow extracts from Juvenal, ix. 102, 103, viii 140, 141; *and Claudian, De iv. consul. Honorii*, 269–275.

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[1] *pœnitudine*] plenitudine, MS., the l, however, being interlined; pœnitentiæ, Boet.

[2] *Qui*] que, MS.

[3] *quorum et . . . habent*] These words are not given by Sallust.

Cap. V.

De principis patientia.

Patientia vero, quæ prioribus non aliena putanda virtutibus, nulli magis quam illi cui multi sunt debitores præditum esse convenit. Oratione Dominica, ut nobis debita dimittantur, et aliis quoque dimittenda docentur. Nonne, rogante debitore patientiam, qui misericordia caruit, nec ipse misericordiam est consecutus, dicente ei Domino, "Serve nequam, nonne "oportuit te misereri conservo tuo?" [James ii. 13; Luke vi. 38; Matth. v. 7.] Magnam quoque patientiam ostendit Dominus, improperantibus ei Judæis et dicentibus "Dæmonium habes," et "Samaritanus es," et "non habemus regem nisi Cæsarem," et "nonne "hic est filius fabri?", et "in Belzebub ejicit dæmo-"nia," et illud "Tu discipulus ejus sis, nos discipuli "Moysi sumus?" Tamen acceptis tot contumeliis tantum hoc patienter respondit, "Si ego in Belzebub "ejicio dæmonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt?" Nonne et in persona patientiam docuit servo[1] pontificis, qui ei alapam dederat, tantum simpliciter respondendo, "Si male locutus sum, perhibe testimonium de malo; "si autem bene, quid me cædis?" Quod autem fecit, idem et docuit tam verbo quidem et exemplo. [Matth. v. 39; Luke xxi. 19.] Et apostolus, Magistri doctrinam sequens, ait "In tribulatione patientes"; et in Psalmo, "Patientia pauperum non peribit in finem." Nec solum in passione, sed et omnes actus ejus ubique patientia pleni sunt.

Of the patience of a prince.

Matth. xviii. 33.

Christ an example of patience.

Luke xi. 19.

John xviii. 23.

f. 53 *b*.

Rom. xii. 12.

Ps. ix. 19.

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[1] *servo*] sermo, MS.

Examples from the Imperial Code.

De imperatorum patientia.

Cod. Just., lib. ix. tit. 7. 1.

Sed ad imperatores Romanos transeamus, qui patientiam beati David dignam imitatione duxerunt, dicentes in hunc modum et statuentes: "Si quis, modestiæ nescius "et pudoris ignarus, improbo petulantique maledicto "nomina nostra lacessenda crediderit ac temulentia "turbulentus obtrectator temporum nostrorum fuerit, "hunc pœnæ nolumus subrogari, neque asperum sus-"tinere; quoniam, si id ex levitate processit, contem-"nendum est et, si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum, "si ab injuria, remittendum. Unde, integris omnibus, "hoc ad nostram scientiam referatur, ut ex personis "hominum dicta[1] pensemus et, utrum prætermitti an "exquiri recte debeant, censeamus." Illud quippe Salomonis non ignorabant, "Melior est patiens viro "forti," *etc.* Non solum autem in factis, verum et in dictis, aliqua patientiæ ipsorum ponamus exempla. . . .

Prov. xvi. 32.

Here follow anecdotes of Augustus from Macrobius, Saturnalia, II. iv. 13, 20, 29; *and of Julius Cæsar from Suetonius, cap.* 49.

The emperor Trajan.

. . . Trajani vero imperatoris patientia non tacenda quidem est nec omittenda, sed potissime in exemplum humanitatis et benignitatis est trahenda. Cum enim in expeditionem iturus aliquando iter urgente negotio jam festinus arripuisset, anus paupercula pedes ejus amplexa vocibus importunis, ut prædium f. 54. ei sublatum incontinenti restitui juberet, efflagitavit; et, cum imperator usque ad reditum suum negotium proterminaret, respondit illa, "Et, si nunquam redieris,[2] "quid mihi fiet?" Ille autem nihil exasperatus substitit statim, nec a loco discessit donec litteras imperiale mandatum super jure suo recuperando continentes mulier reportaret. Propter has autem et alias ejus humanitates et infinitas a natura viri virtutes, legitur quod beatus Gregorius cum tanta instantia orationes ad Dominum pro Christo fuderit ne tantæ

His salvation ensured by the prayers of St. Gregory.

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[1] *dicta*] ita, MS.

[2] *redieris*] rediens, MS.

pietatis vir periret quod hanc vocem audire meruit, " Gregori, exaudita est oratio tua."

De Socratis quoque patientia Jeronimum[1] audi: Socrates.

De Socratis patientia.

" Socrates Xantippen[2] et Miron Aristidis " philosophi neptem duas habebat uxores " . . . 'Sciebam,' inquit, 'quod ista " 'tonitrua imber sequeretur.' " Item et A. Gellius[3]: Noct. Att. i. 17. " Xantippe Socratis uxor . . . 'petulantiam et " 'injuriam facilius fero.' " Hujus etiam effectum virtutis declarant et auctores in hunc modum. Lucanus: Quotations illustrating the virtue of patience. " Gaudet patientia duris," *etc.* Horatius[4]: " Nam levius Pharsal. ix. 403, 404. " fit patientia, quicquid corrigere est nefas." Seneca: " Asperum modicum intemperans facit"; et alibi, " Optimum est sine murmure pati, quod emendare non " possis"; et illud ejusdem, " Feras, non culpes, quod " vitare non possis." Et illud Ovidii, " Quod male Ars Amat. ii. 647, 648. " fers, assuesce; feres," *etc.* Boethius: " Impatientia " sortem exacerbabis,[5] quam mutare non possis." Terentius[6]: " Quod sors fert, feramus æquo animo; De Cons. Phil. ii., prosa 1. " inscitia est enim adversus stimulum ut calces"; et alibi, " Neque ulla res tam facilis, quin difficilis " sit, quam invitus facis." Item Salomon: " Qui Prov. xiv. 29, xvi. 32, xix. 11, xxv. 15. " patiens est, multa gubernatur patientia," *etc.* Item Gregorius[7]: " Gloriosius[8] est injuriam tacendo fugere, " quam respondendo superare." Basilius: Pacificus f. 54 *b*. " homo consortium angelorum merebitur; invidus " autem particeps dæmoniorum efficitur. . . . Vir " benignus, etiam si patiatur injuriam, pro nihilo " ducit; iniquus etiam si parvum audierit a proximo,

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[1] Adversus Jovinianum, i. 48 (Migne, xxiii. 278).

[2] *Xantippen . . . neptem*] exanticipem et miro astidis philosophi nepotem, MS.

[3] *A. Gellius*] Agellius, MS.

[4] *Horatius*] Carm. I. xxiv. 19, 20; Terentius, MS., with "est" for "fit."

[5] *exacerbabis*] exacerbabit, MS.

[6] Phormio, I. ii. ll. 88, 28, with verbal changes. The other quotation is from Heaut., IV. vi. ll. 1, 2.

[7] Hom. in Evang. xviii. (Migne, lxxvi. 1153).

[8] *Gloriosius*] Gloriosus, MS.

"contumelias arbitratur." Ad hæc autem beatus Martinus tantæ patientiæ fuisse legitur quod, cum tantus esset et in tanto sacerdotii culmine constitutus, tamen ab infimis clericis suis impune [lacessebatur]. Gregorius: "Apud "Christianos non qui patitur, sed qui facit "injuriam, miser est." Isidorus: "Non potest esse "in pace qui spem suam ponit in homine. Qui vitæ "æternæ præmia diligenter excogitat, mala omnia "vitæ præsentis æquanimiter portat. Gravius torque- "tur impius mundi excogitando commoda quam jus- "tus tolerando mala. Qui enim bona mundi diligit, "velit nolit, timoris et doloris pœnæ succumbit. "Patienter ab uno ferendum est, quod multis accidit "tolerabile. Pœna hujus vitæ brevis est, et qui affli- "git et qui affligitur mortalis est. Contumelias de- "trahentium patientia supera; sagittas contumeliæ "patientiæ clipeo frange; contra linguæ gladium "patientiæ præbe scutum. Magna est virtus, si non "lædas a quo læsus es; magna est fortitudo, etiam læsus "si remittas; magna est gloria, si cui potuisti nocere "etiam parcas." Sicut igitur aurum gemma, sic virtuosum ornat patientia; nam vacua est virtus quam non patientia firmat.

De beati Martini patientia.

Synon. ii. 31.

Synon. ii. 33.

Cap. VI.

De principis temperantia.

Of the sobriety of a prince.

Anger to be avoided.

De Offic. i. 21.

Temperantia vero quasi cæterarum virtutum condimento quodam in omni utenda actione. Hæc etenim ut ait Tullius,[1] totius vitæ ornatus omniumque perturbationum sedatio est; præcipuus autem ejus effectus est, ut iracundiam mitiget et moderetur. "Caveatur" enim, ut ait Ambrosius, "iracundia, aut, "si caveri non potest, cohibeatur . . . . resiste

[1] The reference is apparently to Tusc. iv. 9, but the passage is not a quotation.

"iræ, si potes; cede, si non potes, quia scriptum "est 'date locum iræ.'" Unde poeta: "Vince ani- Ov. Her. iii. 85. "mos iramque tuam, qui cætera vincis." Item Gaius f. 55. Cæsar in Oratione pro Catilina: "Nulli mortalium Sallust, Catil. 51. "injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur. . . . Quæ apud alios "iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque "crudelitas appellatur." Ecce, quam pulchra tanti principis, quo nemo in terris surrexit potentior, ab iracundia dissuasio. Princeps enim nunquam iratus A prince should not punish in anger or without ruth. animadvertere debet nec immisericorditer, præcipue venia petita, vindicare; satis enim pio et magnanimo principi sufficere debet ad vindictam vindicare potuisse. Leonis enim nobilitatem princeps nobilis imitari debet. Unde poeta:—

Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis;
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe.

Tullius tamen in Tusculanorum libro scribit in hunc Tusc. iv. 19. modum: "Iracundiam cotem[1] fortitudinis esse dicunt "Peripatetici,[2] multoque in hostem et improbum civem "vehementiores [iratorum] impetus esse. Idem virum "esse negant qui irasci nesciat." Porro hoc ideo dictum noveris, quoniam usu quodam loquendi iracundiæ opera dicuntur, quæcunque solent vel ex justitiæ rigore vel vindictæ ratione provenire. Unde et eodem typo sermonis divino quoque numini[3] interdum ira, interdum et furor, attribui solet. [Ps. vi. 2.] Quam figuram antropospaton, hoc est "humanam propassionem," vocant. Ad hæc Seneca duplicem iracundiæ describit effectum Signs and effects of anger. his verbis, "Iracundiæ furor incumbens et bonam plurimumque valetudinem evacuat et ab æquitatis linea "veritatisque via mentis alias bene compositæ statum "evertit"; et alibi, "Temperantia bonam valetudinem "facit. Temperandum est igitur ab iracundia, non "tantum modestiæ, sed etiam sanitatis causa." Ad hæc etiam Ambrosius, "Sit nobis disceptatio sine ira,

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[1] *cotem*] tantæ, MS.
[2] *Peripatetici*] pari patenti, MS.
[3] *numini*] minimi, MS.

"suavitas sine amaritudine, monitio sine asperitate, hor- "tatio sine offensione." Sicut pulchre satis Plutarchus de correctione pueri sic iram describit, "Puer discipli- "natus, si querimonias vel gemitus vel ejulatus offert, "verbis seriis et objurgatoriis post verbera est casti- "gandus et post pauca lente leviterque sic est incre- "pandus: 'Quia verbero, vapulas, num ego tibi irasci "'videor? Ex vultune meo, vel ex colore, vel ex voce, "'vel etiam ex verbis, me correptam ita furore intel- "'ligis? Mihi quidem nec oculi, opinor, truces sunt, "'nec os turbidum; non immaniter clamo, non in ru- f. 55 b. "'borem spumamque fervesco, non pudenda vel pœni- "'tenda dico, non febribus uror, non visum vitreum "'promo. Hæc omnia, si ignoras, signa sunt iræ.'" Item Seneca ad Lucilium: "Iræ stimulis vel accensum "cor palpitat, corpus tremit, lingua se præpedit,[1] facies "ignescit, exasperantur oculi, et nequaquam cognoscun- "tur noti. Ira siquidem frontem contrahit, super- "cilium induit, oculos turbat, animos exasperat, faciem "inflammat, verba præcipitat, manus armat, passus ac- "celerat."

Limits proper to a prince's anger.

Cum igitur ira principis, Salomone testante, sit rugitus leonis, irasci non debet princeps quin sentiat orbis, neque[2] a statu mentis moveri quin mundus moveatur.[3] Absit enim ut iram facile frustraque sæpius effundens puerique more temere ponens et resumens constantiæ, simul reverentiæ, damna sustineat; absit etiam ut frequentem cædibus et sanguine satiare sitiat iracundiam. Aut nunquam igitur principis animum ira perturbet aut rarissime; et tunc cum effectu, causa cum evidenti præmissa, et ultionis inculpatæ modestia servata. Sicut enim præceptor puerilis excessus reprimit nec excandet, sicut medicus morborum curas agit nec movetur, sic pius[4] princeps et vitiorum. Unde Pithagoras: "Fugienda

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[1] *præpedit*] præpendit, MS.
[2] *neque*] ne, MS.
[3] *moveatur*] movetur, MS.
[4] *pius*] prius, MS.

"sunt omnibus modis et abscidenda igne ac ferro toto- "que artificio separanda, languor a corpore, imperitia ab "animo, luxuria a ventre, a civitate seditio, a domo "discordia, a cunctis rebus intemperantia." Item Tullius in iiij° Tusculanorum libro: "Omnium perturba- Tusc. iv. 9. "tionum fons est intemperantia . . . conservato "judicio mentis." Non solum igitur iræ impetus, sed et omnes animi motus illicitos luxusque noxios atque libidines, temperantia sedat; unde et quasi condimentum quoddam cæterarum virtutum et colligamentum esse procul dubio comprobatur, adeo quidem ut hac sine virtus omnino nulla subsistat et, eadem omissa, ad alias frustra virtutes eniti quisquam appetat.

Cap. VII.

De principis clementia.

Virtus autem nulla magis hominem quam clementia, Of the clemency of a prince. et hæc ipsa nullum magis ex omnibus quam regem aut principem decet; regis illius regum exemplo, qui Cf. Seneca, de Clem. I. iii. 3. "solem suum super justos et injustos lucescere facit," qui non statim ultionem accelerat sed misericordia plenus emendationem longanimiter exspectat. [Zach. i. 3; Ezek. xxxiii. 11; Ps. xxiv. 10, xxxii. 5, c. 1; f. 56. Matth. v. 7.] Ad Salvatoris etiam in terris opera Christ an example of clemency. recurramus. . . .

Here follow examples of Paul, Peter, Mary Magdalene, and the Woman taken in Adultery; with Matth. v. 44; *Luke* xxiii. 34.

. . . Quem et prothomartyr imitatus, positis genubus, pro lapidantibus orabat. [Acts vii. 59.] Imitemur ergo eum, qui imitabilis quidem in omnibus est et in nullo mutabilis; et, sicut ille mundanam hanc fabricam totam ab ipso creatam, cœlum, et cuncta quæ cœli ambitu continentur pie moderatur ac prudenter, commissam nobis a Domino potestatem ad ejusdem, quoad possumus, exemplum cum pietate

A good prince should forgive many offences, but not all,

gubernemus. Est itaque boni principis offensas remittere, non omnes quidem, sed multas, et pœnas debitas mitigare, longeque ut pronior sit, salvo solum regiminis moderamine, reos absolvere quam condemnare; et, cum forte justitia mediante pœnis addicti fuerint, clementiæ est aliquid ultrici detrahere sententiæ. Qui enim nihil reatus impunitum relinquit, delinquit. Gloriosa virtus est citra punire quam liceat. Interdum etiam de jure suo principem ex mansuetudine relaxare, nec non in plerisque et austeritatem deponere et humanæ vicissitudinis officium assumere, multum expedit. . . .

f. 56 *b*. *Here follows a passage from Ambrose, De Officiis,* ii. 18, 19.

and should not thirst for the blood even of an enemy.

. . . Sanguinem autem, sicut non privati, sic neque principis etiam inimici, princeps turpiter aut crudeliter sitire debet. Memorabile ferunt rhetores quod dux Romanorum, cum ad eum adversarii regis medicus venisset pollicens daturum se regi venenum, vinctum eum ad hostem remiserit, et revera præclarum ut, qui virtutis certamen susceperat, nollet fraude vincere. . . .

Example of David from 2 *Sam.* i. 14, 15, iv. 5–12.

. . . Longe enim ab horum magnanimitate virorum illa quam poeta exprimit opinio, quasi honesto utile præferens, his verbis, "Dolus an virtus, quis in "hoste requirat?" Et alibi,

Lucan, Phars. viii. 498.

"Exeat aula,
"Qui volet esse pius, virtus et summa potestas
"Non coeunt, semper metuit, quem sæva pudebunt."

Quanquam subtiliori indagine et salubriori tamen "nil "utile prorsus præter honestum."

Moses an example of clemency.

Videamus etiam Moysi mansuetudinem erga inimicos et pietatem. . . . [*Enumeration of the ten plagues.*]

f. 57. . . . Vere nimium, sicut scriptum est, mansuetus et mitis sciebat quidem quod fidem rex non servabat promissi, tamen honestum putabat ut rogatus oraret,

læsus benediceret, appetitus remitteret. Præterea refert Tullius in libro de Elocutione et exemplificat de quodam rege, qui, cum alium regem in bellico tumultu captum teneret et expeteretur ab exercitu ut interficeretur, negavit ille et rationem annectens ait, "Fortis viri est, qui de victoria contendunt, eos hostes putare, qui victi fuerint, eos homines judicare, ut possit bellum fortitudo, pacem humanitas augere." Præclara quidem hæc in principe clementia; satis est enim ad vindictam magnanimo vindicare potuisse. Unde Ovidius [Trist. III. v. 31–36]; et Statius [Thebais, viii. 124–126]. Quoniam, ut ait Seneca, "Non minus principi turpia sunt supplicia multa, quam medico multa funera." Unde et Plinius: "Julius enim Cæsar, cujus manus non minus apta stilo quam gladio, cum nemo rempublicam ducalius administrasset, in tanto imperio suo unum solum interfici præcepit, Domitium scilicet, cui tamen antea vitam donaverat. De quo Lucanus:

" 'Vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere,' dixit, Phars. ii. 511.
" 'Cerne diem.' "

"Cumque ipsum in civili bello armis abjuratis contra se denuo pugnantem videret, militibus dixit, 'Sufficit mihi semel Domitio vitam dedisse.'" Et Suetonius de eodem: "Simultates erga nullum tantas habuit, quas data occasione non remitteret." Item Tullius in libro Philippicano de eodem: "Fuit in Julio Cæsare ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterata cogitatio; epulis, congiariis, multitudinem[1] imperitam partim metu, partim specie clementiæ lenierat. At tu in nullo ei comparandus es, nisi in cupiditate dominandi." Unde, sicut ait Seneca de clementia, "Remissius imperanti melius plerumque paretur." Ovidius: "Lenis alit flammas; grandior aura necat." Innatam autem animi benignitatem et humanitatem

De Clem. i. 24.

Suet., Julius, 73.

Philipp. ii. 45.

Rem. Am. 808.

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[1] *multitudinem*] Cic.; pote plebem, MS., with some space between.

Julii satis oratio pro Catilina declarat, ubi ad viri factiosi, Catilinæ scilicet, liberationem verbis suasoriis, sed non persuasoriis, elaboravit, Catone nimirum in

f. 57 b. contrarium perorante. Propriæ autem injurias exemplo

De Clem. i. 20. Julii facillime remittendas Seneca in libro de Clementia docet dicens, "Nihil gloriosius principe impune

Advice to a prince by Hildebert of Le Mans. "remittere[1] læso." Similiter et Ildebertus Cenomanensis episcopus in quadam epistola sua cuidam principi[2] scribens procedit in hunc modum:—

"Sede in palatio, dispone de suffragiis afflictorum, et, ut "omnes tibi vivant, omnibus vive. Vive reipublicæ, noctes "ei præstans et dies; judicium curiæ tuæ dictet æquitas, "non acceptio personarum. Te ipsum legibus, amore sub-"jectos rege; esto tuorum censor, cum ignoveris excessibus "alienis. Insontem minime patiaris impune lædi, et tu "impune læsus. Iniquitatis[3] ultionem inter splendidiores "triumphos enumeres[4]; sanguinem nec sine causa nec "libenter effundas; dole quotiens illum etiam effuderis, "quem lex judicat effundendum. In omnibus reverenter "exerce potestatem. Da gloriam Deo, cum feceris aliquid "gloriosum. Super omnia pauperibus adesse memineris et "ecclesiis, quibus plerumque principes boni proprio sanguine "quietem emerunt et pacem. Ex tuis autem ministris ne-"cesse est divinam metuas indignationem, qui circa eosdem "pauperes et sanctuarium Dei quicquid impie volunt impune "agunt. Pro hujusmodi bonos principes, sed pravos ha-"bentes ministros, scriptura nunc Scyllam, nunc Harpias "appellat. Etenim Scylla facie humana, sed caninis capi-"tibus accincta, describitur; Harpiæ vultum habent virgi-"neum, ungues autem rapaces. His quidam boni principes "comparantur, ipsi crudelitatem abhorrentes, de injuriis "proximorum conquerentes, hominem mansuetudine et mi-"sericordia exprimentes. Cæterum ministri eorum, odoratu "prædæ canibus, rapacitate similes sunt unguibus Harpia-"rum. Tu itaque pro voto rapacitatem atque exactiones "tuorum compesce, quas pauperum clamor et orphanorum "gemitus et lacrymæ comitantur viduarum. His tibi si

[1] *remittere*] not in Seneca.

[2] Epist. xv., addressed to Fulk V., count of Anjou (Migne, clxxi. 181).

[3] *Iniquitatis*] In iniquitatis, MS.

[4] *enumeres*] eminens, MS.

"nescis parcere, thesaurizatur ira in die iræ et revelationis "justi judicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua. "Qui enim malum, cum possit, non corrigit, quia malefac-"tori consors est in culpa, consors erit et in pœna."

Hic igitur habes ex parte, qualis debeat esse princeps; habes et, quales debeat habere[1] ministros. Præterea multis princeps levius castigando, multisque longe satius omnino dissimulando medetur. Nunquam enim pius princeps ad ultima recurrit supplicia, nisi cum consumpserit remedia. Dum enim indicatur scelus, ostenditur posse fieri; propterea multa parricidia[2] multi cullei docuere. Unde et remissius imperanti melius plerumque paretur; verecundiam quippe peccandi facit clementia regentis. . . .

A good prince only resorts to capital punishment when he has exhausted other remedies.

Here follow examples of Augustus sparing Cinna (Seneca, De Clementia, i. 9); *and of David sparing Saul* (1 Sam. xxvi.). f. 58.

. . . Magnum itaque fuit quod hosti pepercit; longe vero majus quod etiam occisum in bello doluit et flebiliter deploravit in hunc modum, "Montes in 2 Sam. i. 21–27.
"Gelboe," *etc.* Quæ mater sic unicum defleret filium f. 58 *b.*
quemadmodum hic deflevit inimicum? Quis gratiæ auctorem tantis persequeretur laudibus quantis iste persecutus est insidiatorem capitis sui? Quam pie doluit; quanto ingemuit affectu! Aruerunt montes prophetico maledicto, et vis divina sententiam maledicentis implevit; itaque pro regiæ necis spectaculo pœnam elementa solverunt. Patet igitur ex præmissis quod nihil laudabilius præclaro viro, nihil præstantius, placabilitate atque clementia. Ad hæc etiam in fine capituli Ildeberti verbis[3] ad clementiæ suasionem et crudelitatis dissuasionem uti ne pigeat:—

Hildebert of Le Mans in praise of clemency.

"Clementiæ plurimum laudis accedit quod pluribus pro-"dest; mitis enim principatus regnum servat incolume.

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[1] *habere*] esse, MS.
[2] *parricidia*] parridia, MS.
[3] Epist. iii., addressed to the countess Adela of Blois (Migne, clxxi. 144).

“ Hujus profecto virtutis locus est apud potentes, qui jure
“ parentum, vel vi, vel electionis beneficio, cæteris princi-
“ pantur; apud populum vero non ita, cui nulla est potes-
“ tas puniendi. Ipse autem ex alto crudelitatem detestatur,
“ adhortatur clementiam, quorum alterum feris, alterum
“ hominibus natura docuit assignandum. Ea sanxit oportere
“ homines mansuescere clementia, timeri feras crudelitate.
“ Igitur crudelem esse cum feris est habere commercium et
“ hominem diffiteri. Præterea suum est hominis ratio, qua
“ cætera supergreditur animantia, Deo cedit; at rationi [1]
“ nullum penitus est cum crudelitate consortium. Illa cum
“ Deo et cum sapientibus Domini pepigit mansionem; hæc
“ ad infima et sanguine gaudentia demigravit. Quæ igitur
“ societas homini ad crudelitatem, cujus lares [2] ratio tam
“ superne despicit, tam longe relinquit, tam constanter ab-
“ nuit, tam penitus ignorat? Aliud habet illa contuber-
“ nium atque aliis cohabitatoribus constipatur. Inter quos
“ clementia non ultimum possidet locum, qua, sicut huma-
“ nitati nihil est affinius, ita nihil gloriosius in principe.
“ Ea rationem,[3] quasi pedisseca matrem familias, comitetur
“ oportet, cujus arbitrio severas potestates emolliat, mitiores
f. 59. “ animos advocet, reis parcat. Omnibus enimvero [4] virtuti-
“ bus ratio præsidet, omnibus fines ordinat, omnibus suorum
“ tempora denuntiat officiorum. De clementia quoque com-
“ pendiosa principibus capitula, ut magnis occupatos legere
“ non tædeat, hic accipias: ‘Clementiæ est,’ ut supra dixi-
“ mus, ‘aliquid ultrici detrahere sententiæ.’ ‘Quisquis
“ ‘nihil reatus impunitum relinquit, [delinquit].’ ‘Culpa
“ ‘est totam persequi culpam.’ ‘Immisericordem profitetur,
“ ‘cui quicquid licet, libet.’ Item, ‘Gloriosa virtus est in
“ ‘principe citra punire quam liceat.’ ‘Virtus est ad vin-
“ ‘dictam necessitate trahi, non voluntate venire.’ ‘Mag-
“ ‘num quid et divinum sapit offensus clemens.’ Item,
“ ‘Bonus princeps neminem sine pœna punit, neminem
“ ‘sine dolore proscribit. Bonus princeps ita crimen inse-
“ ‘quitur, ut quem punit hominem reminiscatur.’ Item,
“ ‘Bonus princeps sibi dominatur, populo servit, nullius
“ ‘sanguinem contemnit.’ ‘Inimici est, sed ejus qui ami-
“ ‘cus fieri potest; nocentis est, sed hominis. Cujuscunque

[1] *rationi*] ratione, MS.
[2] *lares*] lates, MS.
[3] *rationem*] ratione, MS.
[4] *enimvero*] vero enim, MS.

" 'sit, quod non potuit dare crimen, putat auferre. Ideo " 'quotiens funditur, confunditur.' Sufficiant hæc animo " docili et amanti disciplinam; ex quibus diligentiores facile " percipient quantum vel crudelitas obsit vel prosit clementia " potestati."

Cap. VIII.

De principis munificentia.

Munificentiæ virtus viros non minus quam prædictæ magnos decet, tantoque est principi magis accommoda quanto eundem opere fœcundum et facultate multa dare multorumque obsequia remunerare favor et gratia fortunavit. [Luke vi. 38; Matth. x. 8; Ps. cxviii. 36; 1 Cor. vi. 10; Coloss. iii. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 9; Hebr. xiii. 1, 2, 16; Matth. xxv. 35.] Ad idem etiam invitat Gregorius, hoc inducens exemplum, " Opinata res est valde . . . 'quod uni ex minimis " 'meis fecistis, mihi fecistis,'" et cætera. Ad principum[1] autem electorum laudabilis munificentiæ transeamus exempla. Sicut in Saturnalibus legitur, " Sublimis " ab Actiaca victoria revertebatur Augustus . . . " sestertia centum millia Græculo numerare jussit." Caveat autem malitiosam infitiandi vir magnus astutiam. Sicut Antigonus cynico[2] petenti talentum respondit plus esse quam debeat cynicus petere; petenti vero minimum[3] dixit minus esse quam regem oporteat dare. Ecce, quam malitiose negabat. Poterat enim dare talentum, quia ipse rex erat; vel minimum, quia ille cynicus. Melius Alexander, qui, cum daret civitatem cuidam dicenti non convenire tantum munus humili fortunæ suæ, respondit, " Non quæro quid " oporteat te accipere, sed quid me dare." Quis autem

Of the munificence of a prince.

Hom. in Evang. xxiii. f. 59 *b*.

Augustus an example.

Macrobius, Saturn. II. iv. 29.

Hildebert, Mor. Phil. i. 13.
Seneca, De Benef. ii. 16, 17.

Alexander.

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[1] *principum*] principium, MS.
[2] *cynico*] ciuico, MS.
[3] *minimum*] nummum, Hild.; denarium, Sen.

David. principum omnium David regi poterit in munificentia comparari, qui inimico capitali regi Sauli, quem Dominus in manus ejus concluserat, et vitam dedit et regnum? Qui etiam, dissuadentibus suis ne partem

1 Sam. xxx. 23–25. prædæ acciperent qui ad sarcinas custodiendas remanserant, ait, "Non sic facietis, fratres mei," *etc.* f. 60. Constantinus quoque Augustus, a lepra miraculose mundatus, qui beato Silvestro et successoribus ejus Romam et occidentale imperium totum contulit, inter principes[1] munificos non immerito est annumerandus et cunctis munificis in terra pro doni majestate longe præferendus.

Constantine's donation to pope Sylvester.

Some measure must be observed in giving.

Dandum est igitur, dandum; sed tamen habendus est modus in dando. Non enim propter liberalitatis officia aut thesauri exhauriendi, aut patrimonia funditus effundenda. Quoniam, ut ait Seneca, "Dabo "egenti, sed ut ipse non egeam; succurram perituro, "sed ut ipse non peream." Socrates: "Age sic "alienum, ut tuum non obliviscaris negotium"; idem: "Quod habes, ita utere, ut alieno non egeas." Ambrosius: "Necessitates aliorum, quantum possumus, "juvemus, et plus interdum quam possumus"; sed paulo post, quasi corrigendo, subjungit, "misericordiæ "tamen modus servetur, ut non sibi quisque totum "eripiat, sed quod habet cum paupere partiatur. Nec "in ipsos etiam filios, nedum extraneos, nimia effluere "largitate debemus." [Ecclus. xxxii. 22.] Refert Tullius quod, dum Macedonum favorem pecuniæ largitione captaret Alexander, scripsit ad eum pater hæc verba, "Quis error in istam spem te induxit? . . . "majora odia eorum assequuntur quibus ademerunt, "quam favores eorum quibus dederunt." Jeremie[2]: "Solent plerique buccinatoribus suis ingentia dona "conferre et, in paucos largitate diffusa, manum a

De Benef. ii. 15.

De Offic. ii. 15.

[1] *principes*] princeps, MS.

[2] *Jeremie*] so MS., probably for "Jeronimus," though I cannot find the passage in the latter's works.

"cæteris retrahere." Et in eodem: "Providentiæ non "est id efficere, ut quod libenter facis diu facere non "possis. Si modum igitur in dando servaveris, "munificentiæ virtus est; si autem modum excesseris, "prodigalitatis procul dubio crimen incurris." In his autem versiculis dandi retinendique diversitates satis aperte perpendi possunt:— Otherwise munificence becomes prodigality.

"Prodigus est animi vitio retinenda profundens; f. 60 *b.*
"Largus, qui sumptum facit ex ratione libenter;
"Parcus, qui retinet quicquid non postulat usus;
"Qui retinet cupide quod res deposcit, avarus."

Sunt igitur duæ virtutes, largitas et parcimonia, præstantior tamen largitas et laudabilior; et duo vitia, prodigalitas et avaritia. Sed quanquam prodigo, sicut furioso, procuratorem leges assignent, nullum tamen vitium, ut ait Seneca, tetrius est quam in principe avaritia. Est autem, ut ait Jeronimus, in libro epistolari, "beatius "magis dare quam accipere," verbum Domini assumens; "proinde nunquam petentes, raro accipiamus "rogati. Facile contemnitur, qui sæpe vocatur ad "prandium et non recusat." Et paulo post, "Nescio "quomodo etiam ipse qui deprecatur ut tribuat, cum "acceperis, viliorem te judicat, et mirum in modum, "si eum contempseris rogantem, plus te veneratur." Inter cætera vero de tribuendo præcepta, et hoc nullatenus omittendum quod hilariter et absque morositate quod dandum est dari debet. . . . Two virtues, bountifulness and thrift: two vices, prodigality and avarice. Epist. lii.

Here follow a number of detached sentences[1] *from Seneca, De Beneficiis,* i. 1, ii. 1–5.

. . . Præterea, quamvis, ut ait Ambrosius, omni petenti pro facultate dare debeas, tamen in beneficio habendus est dilectus dignitatis, in quo spectandi sunt mores ejus cui datur et animus erga nos et cohabitatio et vitæ societas, et ad nostras utilitates Hild., Mor. Phil. i. 13. Cf. Cic., De Offic. i. 14, 15.

[1] They are apparently taken directly from Hildebert of Le Mans, Moralis Philosophia, i. 13 (Migne, clxxi. 1015).

beneficia ante collata. Etiam si non vivitur cum perfectis, sed simulacra virtutis habentibus, appareant; neminem puto negligendum, in quo aliqua significatio virtutis appareat. Unde Augustinus, "Omnes homines "æque diligendi sunt . . . quasi quadam sorte "junguntur," etc. Est itaque munificentia tanto virtus antiquior, quanto naturali justitiæ, quæ omnibus omnia præstat, accommodatior.

De Doctr. Christ., cap. xxviii.

f. 61.

Cap. IX.

De principis magnificentia.

Of the high-mindedness of a prince.

Magnificentia vero, quæ et fortitudo dicitur, non solum principes ornat, sed etiam magnos quosque suæ virtutis efficacia majores reddit. Ad hanc quoque virtutem invitat Salvator dicens, *etc.* [Luke xxi. 9; Matth. v. 10–12; Luke vi. 22, 23; Matth. xxiv. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 5; Hebr. xi. 33, 34; Rom. viii. 35–39; 2 Tim. iv. 7; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 8–10.] Salvator autem et in sua[1] persona hac usus fuisse virtute perhibetur, suos ad similia non solum verbis sed et factis provocando, dum ipse tam fortiter et tam constanter crucis subire patibulum non formidavit, quinimmo ad locum passionis, jam facta in ipsum conspiratione, spontaneus accessit, et mundi pretium se pro mundo hostiam obtulit, *etc.* [Isai. xl. 10; Prov. xxxi. 17; Exod. xv. 11.]

f. 61 *b.*

Fortitudinis autem una cum magnificentia partes sunt magnanimitas, fiducia, securitas, constantia, patientia, de qua superius dictum est; singulas autem species tam diffinire quam per membra dividere, sicut philosophi tractare solent, potius artificium esset ostentare quam simpliciter incedere, quod hic elegimus. Auctorum autem exempla varia ad hanc virtutem nos invitantia proponemus, quæ cui parti fuerint

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[1] *sua*] sui, MS.

applicanda diligens per se lector advertat. Tullius[1]: De Offic. i. 80.
"Fortis et constantis animi est non perturbari in rebus "adversis nec tumultuantem[2] de gradu dejici, sed "præsente consilio uti nec a ratione discedere." Seneca: "Plura sunt quæ nos terrent quam quæ pre- Ep. xiii. 4.
"munt, et sæpius opinione quam re laboramus; ideo "ne sis miser ante tempus, cum illa, quæ velut emi- "nentia expavisti, fortasse nunquam ventura sunt," etc. Ut autem ad res denuo bellicas redeamus, cavendum est summo opere ne in martiis negotiis temere versemur. . . .

Here follows a long passage[3] *from Hildebert of Le Mans, Moralis Philosophia,* i. 28, *beginning* "'Temere "'namque,' ut ait Tullius, 'in acie versari,'" *and* De Offic. i. 81.
ending "in quo parcitur oculis nostris."

. . . Securitatis[4] itaque virtus est mortis aculeos f. 62.
causis urgentibus non formidare; magnanimitatis autem magnos difficilesque labores et periculo plenos ratione prævia non evitare. Unde Seneca ad Lucillium: "Non est vir fortis, qui laborem fugit, nisi crescit ei "animus ex ipsa rerum difficultate." Idem: "Nihil f. 62 *b*.
"est quod non expugnet pertinax opera et intenta ac "diligens cura"; et alibi: "Imbecillæ mentis atque "ægræ est, et experta formidare." Item Tullius: "Virtus viro forti adimi non potest. Belligerandum Or. ad Quirites, viii. 19.
"itaque est cum fortuna, ne simus fracto animo "propter multitudinem calamitatis, sed confirmato[5] "magis atque renovato."[6] Seneca: "Multa non, quia

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[1] *Tullius*] Terentius, MS. Both this quotation and that following, from Seneca, are at the end of the chapter of Hildebert referred to below (Migne, col. 1031).

[2] *tumultuantem*] tumultu ante, MS.

[3] Migne, clxxi. cols. 1027–1029. The extract includes quotations from Lucan, Phars., ix. 283; Cicero, De Offic., i. 83; Horace, Carm. III., iv. 65–68, II., ii. 13–18, Epp. I., iv. 14; Seneca, De rem. fortuitorum, ii.–iv.; Juvenal ("Lucretius," MS.), xi. 44, 45; Virgil, Æn., ii. 64; Lucan ("Lucretius," MS.), Phars., vii. 809–811, 818, 819.

[4] *Securitatis*] Securitas, MS.

[5] *confirmato*] confirmatio, MS.

[6] *renovato*] renovatio, MS.

"difficilia sunt, audemus; sed, quia non audemus, "difficilia sunt." Jeronimus: "Nobiles nimirum ausus "nihil æque impedit, ut diffidentia. Omnis appet- "endi conatus perit ex desperatione consequendi." Cæterum si ad præclaros virtutis istius viros per exempla recurrere volueris, Gaii Cæsaris, Alexandri Macedonis, et Hannibalis, aliorumque virorum fortium, [quæ] declarant historiæ, gesta revolvas.

Cap. X.

De principis justitia.

Of the justice of a prince.

Virtus autem nulla magis principem quam justitia decet, per quam, humanæ societatis vinculum servans, et ambitiosos majorum impetus frangit et suam minoribus securitatem custodiat et tranquillitatem. Sicut enim armis tueri, sic et legibus princeps atque justitia reipublicæ statum regere tenetur et moderari. Unde et in Elementorum libro scriptum in capite reperies, "Imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis "decoratam, sed et legibus decet esse ornatam." Idem etiam poeta declarat, Cæsari dicens, "Cum tot "sustineas," *etc.* Sydonius: "Ut populi sub armis, sic "frenanda sunt arma sub legibus." Sine moribus enim leges parum valere docet Horatius in libro Carminum, dicens, "Quid leges sine moribus," *etc.* Effectum quoque justitiæ per leges observatæ Isidorus his verbis manifeste depromit, "Factæ sunt autem "leges, ut earum metu humana coerceatur audacia," *etc.* Unde et Tiberius, Romanorum imperator ab Augusto quinquagesimus quartus, adoptato sibi in successorem Mauricio inquit, "Utere ergo," inquit, "feliciter imperio, et habe in mente æquitatem et justitiam, præcipua optimi imperatoris insignia."[1]

Hor., Epp. II. i. 1-3.

Carm. III. xxiv. 35, 36.

Etym. ii. 10.

[1] This story (taken from Hugo Floriacensis) is repeated below, Dist. i. cap. 20.

Petrus autem apostolus et apostolorum princeps justitiæ vires acriter exercuit. . . .

Here follow examples of Simon Magus, and Ananias and Sapphira, with an extract[1] *from Gratian's Decretum, Sec. Pars, Causa* xxiii., *Quæst.* 14, 16, *beginning* "Occidit "Phinees hominem," *and ending* "et illi reddidit "orando." f. 63.

When laws are new they must be executed with the more rigour.

. . . Ubi notandum quod in novitate legum graviori animadversione opus est, ut rigorem promulgatæ[2] legis sentiat severitas disciplinæ. Unde in initio legis nascentis pro collectione lignorum in Sabbato lapidatus est Salphaat, in initio sacerdotii duo filii Aaron igne consumpti sunt pro oblato igne alieno; sic et in principio nascentis ecclesiæ Ananias et Sapphira, defraudantes agri pretium ab apostolo, increpati exspiraverunt.

Christ an example of justice.

Præterea virtutem istam, sicut et alias, Salvatori nostro competere Psalmista David docet. [Ps. xliv. 7, 8, ix. 5, 9, lxvi. 5, xlvii. 11; Sapient. i. 1; Matth. v. 6; Ps. lxxxiv. 11, 12, lxxi. 7; Isai. xxviii. 16, 17, xlv. 8; Matth. xxv. 34, 41.] Porro ad terrenam justitiam, quæ f. 63 *b*. tamen de superna descendit, revertamur, per quam humana societas et cohabitatio confœderantur. Dum enim cohabitant homines, obtinet unus vel agros vel alias possessiones quibus eget alter. Alii quoque militiam, alii mercaturam variosque vivendi modos exercent, per quod accidit ut unius plerumque quæstus lucrum minuat alterius; quæ res livorem pariter moveret ac seditionem, si non adesset justitia, suum cuique tribuens atque conservans. . . .

Human society held together by the exercise of justice.

Here follows another extract[3] *from Hildebert, Mor. Phil.* i. 11, 12, *beginning* "De hac Tullius, 'Nemo

[1] Ed. Lyons, 1584, pp. 1368, 1369. It consists chiefly of quotations from Chrysostom, Hom. in Matth. xvii. 6, and from Gregory, Dial. ii. 30.

[2] *promulgatæ*] promulgare, MS.

[3] Migne, clxxi. col. 1014; chiefly quotations from Cicero, De Offic. ii. 38, 39, i. 20–22.

" 'justus esse potest, qui mortem, qui exilium, qui " 'dolorem, qui egestatem timet,' " *and ending* "Nam " 'quietissime,' ut ait Seneca, 'viverent homines, si " 'duo verba tollerentur, meum et tuum' "; *after this are a number of sentences from Cicero, De Offic.* iii. 21–29.

f. 64. . . . Dum enim vita perditur, corruptio corporis, scilicet mors, incurretur; si vero hanc affectionem abjiciam, vitium animi incurram. Et, sicut contrarium est magis animi quam corporis vitium, sic melius est animi quam corporis bonum, virtus scilicet quam vita. Est igitur in delictis exercenda justitiæ sævitas, sed non in omni. Tunc demum gladius est judicis exserendus, quando vel atrocitate delicti vel prava delinquentis consuetudine provocatur. Quoniam, ut ait Ovidius:

The sword of justice must be used with discretion.

Trist. ii. 33.

" Si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
" Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit."

Quemadmodum igitur in humano corpore membrum, quanquam saucium, quanquam languidum et vitio quolibet depravatum, non statim tamen vel præcidendum vel projiciendum, sed, quoniam redeunt ad sanitatem saucia, projiciuntur abscissa, potius adhibenda sunt medicamina et alliganda fomenta, ut totius integritas plena valeat partium sospitate gaudere; sin autem partialis incommodi incurabilis fuerit forte corruptio, ne mali vis pestilens per universa se subinde membra transfundat, membrum illud, tanquam inutile, quantocius est a toto movendum; haud aliter regni bonus princeps partis vitiosæ cum omni diligentia et mansuetudine spem prosequitur. Desperata vero et irremediabili malitia in præceps data non minori[1] cura sunt ab universitate delenda; sicut enim morbida ovis, ne forte gregem contaminet, a caulis est amovenda, sic ab humana societate nonnulli sunt deducendi, qui

[1] *non minori*] non est minori, MS.

incorrigibili nequitia de die in diem amplius innotescunt. Qui nimirum forte dignissimi ad hoc tantum vivunt, ut in opere lædant vel exemplo corrumpant. Nam, ut ait Cicero,[1] "exterminandum est ex hominum "communitate pestiferum genus hominum; ut enim "quædam membra amputantur, si sanguine et spi- "ritu carere cœperint et nocent cæteris, sic ista in "figura hominis feritas et immanitas belluæ a com- "muni vita segreganda est"; "sunt enim homines "non re sed nomine." Nam quid interest utrum ex homine se convertat quis in belluam, an sub hominis figura immanitatem belluæ gerat? Non ergo talibus est parcendum; nam "judex[2] damnatur, cum nocens "absolvitur." [Exod. xxii. 18; 1 Kings, xx. 42.] Unde Jeronimus super Jeremiam, "Homicidas et sacrilegos "et venenarios punire, non est effusio sanguinis sed "ministerium legis." Et in Genesi quoque dicit Dominus, "Quicunque effuderit humanum sanguinem, "fundetur sanguis illius," *etc.*; intelligendum est autem per se, et non legis aut judicis auctoritate. Cavenda vero est maxime ira in puniendo, cum qua nemo "tenebit mediocritatem, quæ est inter nimium "et parum."[3] Ad hæc Augustinus: "Hoc misericor- "diam non impedit, si mali puniuntur; puniendi sunt "enim non animo ultionis sed dilectionis. Ubi autem "potentior occurrit, neque potes corrigere vel monere, "tolera securus, quia non erit impunitus." [Rom. xii. 19.] Item et qui phreneticum ligat, et qui lethargicum excitat, ambobus molestus, ambos amat; flagellat pater filium, quem diligit; medicus ægroto pocula propinat amara, morbosis interdum membris ignem adhibet et ferrum. Interdum etiam chalybata[4] manu nunc

De Offic. iii. 6.

f. 64 *b*.

De Offic. i. 30.

Cf. Hild., Mor. Phil. i. 12.

Comm. in Jer. iv. 22.

Gen. ix. 6.

Anger to be guarded against in punishing.

Cic., De Offic. i. 25.

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[1] *Cicero*] Seneca, MS. The whole passage down to "absolvi- "tur" is in Hildebert, Mor. Phil. i. 12 (col. 1015).

[2] Publii Syri Sententiæ, No. 349 (ed. Orelli, 1822, p. 24).

[3] *parum*] parvum, MS.

[4] *chalybata*] calibata, MS.

ossa radit, nunc carnes resecat, nec absque dolore perutili quædam separat, ut residui vigor ampliori sospitatis gratia convalescat. Quoniam, ut ait Jeronimus, "non medicinæ culpa sed vulneris, cum crudelitate "clementi non parcit medicus, ut parcat, et sævit, ut "misereatur." Haud aliter bonus princeps pie sæviens in perversos effrenes quorundam impetus nunc carceribus claudit, nunc cruciatibus corrigit, nonnunquam etiam demembratione castigat; nec aliquando princeps ad ultima recurrit supplicia, nisi cum consumpserit remedia. Curandi igitur animo non cruciandi, sicut medicus, sic et princeps accedit ad medelam; nec sævientis sed servientis, nec delentis sed dolentis, officio dolor est medicina doloris. Unde poeta: "Est piger ad pœnas "princeps," *etc.* Sanguinem quippe sitire eumque libenter et crebro sine causa fundere, belluale quidem est et crudele; invitum autem ad hoc principem trahi, et tanquam universitatis emolumento, justum et liberale et virtuosum. Bonos igitur agricolas bonus princeps imitabitur, qui ita rectas procerasque arbores colunt, ut et illas[1] quoque, quas aliqua depravavit naturæ perversitas. Quibus inventis applicant[2] adminicula; alias circumcidunt, ne proceritatem rami pullulantes multitudine reprimant,[3] et succum, inutilius per brachia multa diffusum, singularitate reddant[4] efficaciorem; quasdam infirmas vitio loci nutriunt; quibusdam aliena laborantibus umbra cœlum aperiunt; nonnullas autem tanquam inutiles et fructum omnino non facientes, ne frustra terram occupent, stirpitus avellunt. Sic bonus princeps summo opere videbit quod ingenium qua ratione tractandum sit, quomodo in rectum prava flectantur; et, sicut in arboribus sic

Ovid, Ex Ponto, I. ii. 123, 124.

f. 65.

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[1] *illas*] illis, MS. For the whole passage to the end of the paragraph, compare Seneca, De Clementia, II. vii. 4, 5.

[2] *inventis applicant*] inventus applicent, MS.

[3] *multitudine reprimant*] multitudinem primant, MS.

[4] *reddant*] reddat, MS.

et in hominibus, sua non immerito natura aliis laudem, aliis curam, aliis judicat eversionem.

Laudabilem in Francorum regno vidimus consuetudinem et a vero naturalium principum pietatis fonte manantem. In primis namque facinorosis quorumlibet excessibus (nisi nimia forte fuerint atrocitate notabiles, tunc enim, tanquam multis minoribus delictis æquipollente statim uno, punitur peremptorio) primo per urbem reus in publico conspectu fustigatione confunditur et flagellatur. Deinde, si forte reciderit, aut fronte et facie[1] cauteriatur aut auriculæ inferiore pulpa mutilatur. Tertio vero, cum damnabili nota si deprehenditur, durius in ipsum, tanquam incorrigibilem et humano cœtui prorsus inutilem, animadvertitur; et sic demum quasi publicus hostis juxta delicti quantitatem vel exoculatur vel patibulo sublevatur. Laudabilis hæc et digna memoria dispensatio. Fieri namque potest et plerumque contingit ut enormi delicto ab æquitatis linea casu sinistro semel quispiam exorbitet, nunquam hactenus assuetus vel de cætero reversurus. Præterea humanitatis ejusdem gratia tot exoculatos alibi non reperimus. Merito nimirum morte dignissimis pœnam pietas mitigavit, ut inutiles corpore facti spiritui vacare valentes parte vigere valeant illius meliore.

Laudable custom in France.

A first offence punished by public flogging; a second by branding or the loss of a lobe of an ear; a third by blinding or death.

Quod autem a Valerio Maximo de Platone introducitur[2] justitiam diffiniente et hic apponere dignum duxi. Plato, inquit, Socratis discipulus, philosophorum flos et decus, dum parvulus dormiret in cunis, apes mel labellis ejus inserebat, portendens singularis eloquii suavitatem. Idem ob studium sapientiæ omnes Ægipti plagas perlustrans, tandem ad Academiam reversus auditores sibi ascivit, inter quos de justitia multum conferentes sic posuit et diffinivit, "Justitia

Story of Plato and the bee, &c.

His definition of justice.

[1] *fronte et facie*] frontes facie, MS.

[2] The reference is apparently to Valer. Max., i. 6, viii. 7; but the passage is not a quotation.

"est consors quædam divinorum gratia inter inferiora "distribuens æquitatem." Thrasymacus orator eam ante sic diffinierat, "Justitia est quæ plurimum pro-"dest ei qui minimum potest." Unde inter famosissimos auditores Platonis orta est collocutio, scilicet inter Timæum, Hermocratem, Critiam et Xenocratem. Quoniam quidem justitiam Plato ante eos sic diffinivit, f. 65 b. "Ea verissime justitia est, quæ erga inferiores serva-"tur," illam esse descripsit inter quatuor elementa inter astra in complexione humana. Sed lege æqua idem tandem, "Justitia est quæ divinum et humanum "jus complectitur." Idem, interrogatus quid esset summum in vita, respondit, "Innocentia." Triumphus innocentiæ est non peccare, ubi liceat. Unde Ovidius, Her. xvii. 98. "Est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis." In quocunque plus potes peccare desine. Idem octogesimo anno decedens sub capite Sophronis mimos[1] habuisse fertur. Hoc quoque notabile censui, quod uniformis et non Definition by Apuleius, De Dogm. Plat. ii. 602. varia debet esse justitia. Quia, ut ait Apulegius, "Vera "justitia est, utilitatis ut suæ, sic fida[2] speculatrix "alienæ." Nam si majores deferendo prætereat, minores vero damnando coerceat, hæc simulatrix et simia justitiæ, non justitia. Cujusmodi considerans Anacharsis leges urbium telis aranearum comparabat. "Nam "ut illas," inquit, "infirmiora animalia retinere, vali-"diora videmus transmittere, ita his legibus humiles "et pauperes stringi, potentes et divites videmus non Sat. ii. 63. "alligari." Unde Juvenal: "Et parcens corvis, vexat "censura columbas." Ovidius: "Et tantum miseris Exemplified in the condemnation of Catilinæ. "irasci numina possunt." Talis autem, quia non ficta sed vera, justitia fuit qualem Apulegius describit, qua Catilinæ conjuratio sub optimo consule, Cicerone scilicet, detecta fuit et damnata, ubi nec personæ nobilitas delinquentis, nec tanti patroni Julii Cæsaris potentia

[1] *Sophronis mimos*] Sophironismos, MS.

[2] *fida*] fidei, MS.

sive facundia, Catone nimirum in contrarium persuadente et contra clementiam pro justitia perorante, reo efficaciter potuit patrocinari. . . .

Here follows the comparison between Cæsar and Cato from Sallust, Catilina, capp. 53, 54.

Cap. XI.

De principis prudentia.

Prudentia vero, quæ cæterarum quasi lima virtutum esse videtur, tanto principi magis accommoda, quanto plures per hanc virtutem regere tenetur et moderari. Hujus enimvero virtutis efficaciæ non immerito debetur, quod nec justitia in crudelitatem, nec fortitudo in temeritatem, nec temperantia in lentitudinem vertitur vel teporem. Quatuor enim hæ virtutes, quæ cardinales dicuntur, eodem gaudent contubernio, adeoque sibi cohærent, ut unam illarum absque cæteris neminem assequi sit concessum; distant enim ab invicem non tam essentiæ diversitate quam qualitativa quadam proprietate. Unde non solum a theologis et hagiographis nostris, verum etiam, quod vehementius admirandum, a philosophis, sicut in libro de Officiis Tullius asseverat,[1] compertum[2] est et irrefragabili ratione probatum, qui unam habet virtutem, omnes habere, et qui una caret, omni carere. Unde in libro Tusculanorum: "Virtutem unam si amiseris, nullam penitus "es habiturus." Sunt enim gregariæ virtutes; simul advolant et evolant, ut columbæ. Ut autem ad priora revertamur, habent virtutes vitia sibi tam conjuncta, quod, nisi prudentia regatur, facile quis in vitium a virtute labatur; latet enim virtus in medio, tanquam nucleus vel medulla, vitiorum undique cortice vallata

Of the prudence of a prince.

f. 66.

Tusc. ii. 32.

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[1] *asseverat*] assueverat, MS. | [2] *compertum*] comptum, MS.

Hor., Epp. I. xviii. 91; Satt. I. i. 106, 107.

venenoso. De quo poeta: "Est virtus medium vitiorum utrimque reductum[1]"; et alibi: "Est modus in rebus," *etc.* Ob hanc itaque bonorum atque malorum affinitatem plerumque contingit, ut proclivis valde fiat ab his in illa prolapsus, vel etiam, nisi firmo virtus gradu nitatur, vitiositatis interdum nævo denigretur. Unde Ovidius: "Et bona sunt vicina malis," *etc.* Prudens igitur esse perhibetur qui fallere non vult, quique de facili falli non potest. De talibus nempe scriptum est, "Estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbæ." Unde Jeronimus: "Habeto simplicitatem columbæ, ne cuiquam dolos machinares, et serpentis astutiam, ne aliorum insidiis supplanteris." Sidonius: "Simplicitatem columbæ in ecclesia serva, in foro serpentis astutiam." Hi nempe qui fallere parati sunt et fraudare suaque propensius ad hæc applicant ingenia, quibus tamen si non abuterentur, naturæ dote præcellerent, prudentium honore pariter et vocabulo prorsus indigni, nunc arguti dicuntur, nunc astuti, interdum vocantur et versuti, eo quod circa mala et illicita eorum versantur ingenia. Calliditas autem indifferenter applicatur utrisque, sapientia vero seu prudentia tantum virtuosis. [Rom. viii. 6, 7, xii. 16.] Principem ergo cujus auditorium tanta negotia pulsant, quem quotidie tot conveniunt, ut circumveniant, tanto fortius præditum esse prudentia decet, ut bonum a malo, verum a falso, rectumque ab utili et honesto, lima discretionis discutere valeat; cum tamen, qui recte inspicere voluerit, nihil bonum vel utile præter honestum. In rebus autem bellicis, sicut et aliis cunctis, multum principi prudentia confert; dum enim ad victoriam variis agitur viis, nunc maturatione, nunc mora, nunc insidiis occultis et subitatione, nunc milites in turma ordinando et per cuneos disponendo, magistratus etiam et tribunos per cohortes

Rem. Am. 323, 324.

A prudent man does not wish to deceive, and cannot himself be easily deceived.

Ep. lviii.

f. 66 *b*.

Prudence very useful in war.

[1] *reductum*] redactum, MS.

præficiendo, in ipso quoque conflictu, nunc fortius insistendo et acrius in hostes insurgendo, nunc quasi declinando et hostiles ex industria impetus eludendo, sicut hi qui de re militari scripsere satis docuerunt, diversis martia negotia modis et cautelis expediuntur. Trogus Pompeius[1]: "Hannibal, cum prælium in mare "transtulisset, novo commento auctor victoriæ fuit; "quippe omne serpentium genus in fictiles lagenas "conjici jussit medioque prælio in naves hostium "mitti. Primum hostibus ridiculum fuit fictilibus "dimicare non ferro; sed, ubi serpentibus cœpere "naves repleri, ancipiti periculo circumventi, hosti "victoriam cesserunt." [*Cf.* Deut. xxxii. 24, 25.] Refert Isidorus Etymologiarum libro quia Velites dicebantur genus militum apud Romanos, qui congredientes cum Hannibale juvenes expeditiores equis post milites clam insidentes ex industria habebant; qui, cum ad hostes perventum esset, dilapsi ab equis elephantos Hannibalis, fabrili scalpro inter aures adacto, necabant et sic victoria Velites potiti sunt.

Examples of Hannibal and others from history.

Etym. ix. 3.

Præterea refert Valerius Maximus quod, duo reges Antigonus et Servandus[2] cum hostiles acies convocassent et ingressu jam prope fuissent, accidit eclipsis solaris totam terræ faciem, stellis cœlo fulgentibus, generaliter obumbrans; qua novitate rei exercitus uterque vehementer attonitus, projectis armis, ad terram in facies suas corruerunt, putantes mundanæ resolutionis diem imminere, aut in scelus suum ausus que pœnales subitam hanc et inopinatam deos vindictam accelerasse. Evander autem, qui philosophicis affatim eruditus exstiterat disciplinis, suos confestim ad arma revocans et exsuscitans, vixque per horam ac dimidiam mansuras has tenebras constanter asseverans, resumptis armis f. 67. acriter in hostes irruendo acies adversas nil tale verentes viriliter invasit captoque Antigono aliisque in

[1] The passage is from Justinus, xxxiii. 4, slightly altered.

[2] *Servandus*] So MS., but "Evander" below. The story is not in Valerius Maximus.

prædam abductis victoria quidem plus arte fuit quam marte [1] potitus.

Learning therefore profitable to a prince.

Patet ex hoc igitur aliisque exemplis variis et augmentis,[2] eoque præcipue quod inter victoriosos mundi principes duo litterarum eruditione præclari præ aliis cunctis lauream meruere majorem, Alexander Macedo et Gaius dictator, quia multum potestati valent litteræ. . . .

Here follow a number of extracts relating to Alexander and Cæsar from Valerius Maximus; Quintilian, Institutiones, xi. 91,[3] 114; *Suetonius, Julius,* 55; *Cicero, Philipp.* ii. 45; *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* vii. 25; *Ovid, Fasti,* iii. 161–166.

In modern times Charles the Great thus distinguished.

. . . Citeriora quoque circa tempora longeque diebus nostris propinquiora Karolus Magnus, qui et novissimorum principum maximus exstiterat, litterarum similiter studiis laudabiliter addictus fuerat, qui inter universa theologiæ volumina [4] Augustinum de Civitate Dei legitur legisse libentius et audisse. Præceptorem habebat hic virum eruditissimum, de borealibus Majoris Britanniæ finibus oriundum, quem secum assidue, ne ullo tempore correctore careret, circumducebat, scilicet Alquinum. De quo legitur quod, cum ad cœnam aliquando coram rege sederet mensa solum interposita, rex inter edendum hæc illi, resolutus in jocum, ludicro dixerit, "Quid distat inter Scotum et sotum?", vocabulorum alludens annominationem. Cui Alquinus tale facetum quidem et eodem schemate periculosum tamen et exasperans, nisi mansuetudinem principis nosset, responsum dedit, "Tabula tantum."

He had Alcuin for a tutor.

Alcuin's repartee as to "Scot", and "Sot."

f. 67 *b*.

Profit to a prince in the reading of history.

Historiarum itaque lectio vetustarum litterato non mediocriter principi confert, ubi eventus belli varios et aleam [5] incertam, casus asperos et secundos, insidias

[1] *marte*] in arte, MS.

[2] *augmentis*] So MS., probably for "argumentis."

[3] This passage properly relates to Germanicus.

[4] *volumina*] volumine, MS.

[5] *aleam*] aliam, MS.

occultas et cautelas advertere poterit, et de præteritis olim actibus quid aggrediendum, quid vitandum, quid fugiendum, quidve sequendum, tanquam ex speculo, scriptura docente, contemplari. Prudentia vero principis omnium major, ut se[1] suis tractabilem exhibeat et amabilem, seque a subditis diligi plus appetat, quam timeri. Exemplo sit nobis Roboam, qui ob verbi insolentiam et morum intemperantiam a decem tribubus desertus est et destitutus. Curat id ergo prudentia, ut nec excedat justitia, nec subcidat moderantia; curat etiam ne magnificentia temere quid audeat vel inconsulte. Suadet et hæc virtus crudelibus humanitatem, elatis iracundis mansuetudinem, temerariis temperantiam, et e diverso timidis audaciam, ignavis animositatem, tepidis æquitatem, et remissis asperitatem. Patet ex his igitur et palam esse proponitur concatenatas ad invicem esse virtutes et cognatas. De quibus hæc Claudianus:

" Justitia utilibus rectum præponere suadet, De laud. Stilich. ii. 103-109.
" Communesque sequi leges, injustaque nunquam
" Largiri sociis; durum Patientia corpus
" Instruit, ut nulli cupias cessisse labori;
" Temperies, ut casta petas; Prudentia, ne quid
" Inconsultus agas; Constantia, futile[2] ne quid
" Infirmumque geras,[3]" etc.

Cap. XII.

De principis providentia.

Providentia vero, quanquam prudentiæ pars sit et pars potissima, de ipsa tamen separatim agere præ eminentia suæ dignitatis non indignum reputavi. Est itaque providentia non solum principi, sed et omni

Of the foresight of a prince.

[1] *se*] si, MS.
[2] *futile*] fictile, MS.
[3] *geras*] gracias, MS.

valde competens et accommoda sapienti, adeo ut hac sine nec regni gubernacula solide subsistant, nec ea subtracta debitum sapientia sortiatur effectum. Quantus autem sit providentiæ fructus ex hoc claruit, quod Joseph Ægypto contra futuros steriles annos tam utiliter in ubertate providit. Ex minutis etiam animalibus, ape videlicet et formica, quæ tam provido labore, unde vitam in bruma producant, congerunt in æstate, providentiæ sumamus exempla. [Hor., Epp. I. xviii. 109, 110.] Nec solum ad vivendum, verum etiam ad secure feliciterque tempus agendum, plurimum providentia valet. Urbes enim muris claudere, cingere fossatis, turribus erigere, armis atque alimentis copiose munire, ad hæc etiam civium animos libertatibus extollere, crebris excitare[1] donariis, ipsam juventutem martis exercitio negotiis erudire, et tanquam ad bella sæva præludiis quibusdam non inutilibus sub pace formare, providæ mentis est et sapientis. Scriptum est enim, "Beata civitas quæ in pace bellum "cogitat." Nec in prædictis dumtaxat, sed in cunctis prope rebus agendis, totius vitæ ratio providentia gubernatur. Quid enim aliud agricultura, quid architectura, quid mercatura, quid artes mechanicæ tam variæ, quid lini seu lanificii labor, nisi vitæ subsidia sub quadam providentia tam sedula sollicitudine curant? Ad hanc virtutem invitat Salvator. [Luke xiv. 28, 31.] Quod enim alibi in Evangelio reperitur, "Videte volucres cœli," *etc.*, et "Nolite cogitare de "crastino," ad removendum nimiam sollicitudinem inducitur et non providentiam. Finem autem attendere, et etiam ratione prævia ac providentia, quoad poterit, longe prospicere, casusque vitabiles per humanam industriam declinare, multum principi et cuilibet etiam plurimum confert sapienti, verum tanto principi magis

Wisdom of preparing for war in time of peace.

f. 68.

Matth. vi. 26. 34.

[1] *excitare*] exillare, MS.

quanto periculis multis magnæque invidiæ caput subjacet principale. Juvenal:

" Quosdam præcipitat subjecta potentia magna Sat. x. 56-58.
" Invidiæ; mergit longa atque insignis honorum
" Pagina," etc.

Item Julius Cæsar, qui inter mundi principes[1] maximus exstiterat, comparatam sibi gladio mundi monarchiam, quia sibi per incuriam minus providerat, parum ultra triennium rexit. Sicut enim in Romana legitur historia,[2] conjuratione facta in Julium, cum a quodam amico præmuniretur, respondit, quasi mortem contemnens, " Satis vixi naturæ, satis vixi et gloriæ." " Naturæ " dixit, quia provectioris jam aliquantulum erat ætatis; " gloriæ " vero, quia victor orbis. Cui ille, " Desine, virorum peritissime, hanc imperitorum hominum effari jactantiam. Hactenus vixisti tibi, vive nunc reipublicæ." . . .

Anecdotes of Julius Cæsar.

Here follow extracts relating to Cæsar's death, the portents preceding it, etc., from Val. Max., I. vii. 2; *Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol., Lib. Machab.,* cap. xvi.; *Eutropius,* cap. vi.

. . . Post tot autem præmunitiones et signa tanti viri casum præsagientia, nihilominus tamen vir strenuitatis eximiæ et incomparabilis magnificentiæ mortem tot ostensam indiciis cineresque præmaturos et funus acerbum non evasit; tanquam, juxta præmissam quorundam opinionem erroneam, quam et poeta sic exprimit,

f. 68 *b*.

f. 69.

" Stat sua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile[3] tempus Virg., Æn. x. 467.
" Omnibus est vitæ,[4] "

casus nequeant hujusmodi declinari. Verior autem habet opinio quod per incuriam potius et negligentiam quam ullam necessitatis violentiam ista plerumque

One's appointed fate may not be deferred, but it may be anticipated.

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[1] *principes*] princeps, MS.

[2] Apparently the reference is to Cic. pro Marcello, vii. 25.

[3] *irreparabile*] inevitabile, MS.

[4] *vitæ*] ævi, MS.

contingant. Exstat enim dies cuilibet, qui præteriri quidem nullatenus potest, anticipari vero multis variisque modis facillime potest. [Ps. ciii. 9; Job xiv. 5.] Notandum enim quod præteriri non posse terminos Scriptura testatur, sed præveniri. Alioquin præliaturos quid longa præparatio, quid equi, quid arma juvarent? Pro nihilo dictum fuisset, "Longa belli "præparatio celerem affert victoriam." Iterum navigaturis quid navis electa, quid nautæ periti, quid denique temporis tranquillitas et aura secunda valerent? Ad hæc etiam, ut ait Boethius, "Si ex præ-"destinatione cuncta contingant, perit casus, perit "liberum arbitrium; et sic nec meretrix vituperanda "nec casta laudanda."

Cap. XIII.

De principis modestia.

Of the modesty of a prince.

Modestia vero, quæ et temperantiæ pars est, sed sicut illa ad frenandos iræ impetus, sic ista ad ambitum animi sedandum specialius applicatur, tanto principi competentior quanto majorem in magnis et conspicuis quam minoribus et obscuris ambitionis macula notam incurrit; moderamen autem quod et temperantiæ subjacet, cujus quoque partes supra explicuimus, præcipue motus corporis et gestus moderatur. Ambitionis itaque morbo incurabili modestiæ remedium utiliter apponere præsens hæc pagina nostra curabit. In primis igitur ethicorum dicta hujus incommodi pestem tanto detestantia in medium deducamus; deinde et theologorum nostrorum sana et salubria proponamus exempla. Tullius; "Nihil est," inquit, "tam angusti animi, tamque "parvi, quam amare divitias." Seneca: "Ideo magnus "est qui sic utitur auro, ut fictilibus; nec minor ille, "qui sic fictilibus ut auro." Tullius: "Nihil hones-"tius magnificentiusque quam pecuniam contemnere

De Offic. i. 68.

Ep. v. 6.

"si non habeas, si habeas ad liberalitatem conferre." Seneca: "In hoc quidem omnes fallimur, quod mor- Ep. i. 1. "tem non[1] prospicimus. Magna pars ejus jam præteriit. "Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet." Et alibi: "Multi enim quo plus senescunt, avidiores fiunt, sed "quæ major amentia quam quo minus viæ restat plus "viatici quærere?" . . .

Here follow extracts from Hor., Epp. I. xvi. 67, 68, xvii. 9, 10; *Ovid, Tristia,* III. iv. 3, 4, 25, 26. f. 69 *b.*

. . . In ædificio quoque modestiam observandam Tullius docet, dicens, "Cavendum est autem, si ipse De Offic. i. 140. "ædifices, ne extra modum sumptus prodeas"; obser- Hild., Mor. Phil. iii. 52. vanda[2] est autem in ædificando sobrietas horum. . . .

Here follow extracts from Hor., Carm. II. x. 5–8; *Cic., De Offic.* i. 139; *Hor., Epp.* I. x. 30–33; *Lucan, Phars.* v. 527–529.

. . . Ideoque sequamur tam in edendo quam in ædes construendo Catonis temperantiam, de quo Lucanus:

"Huic epulæ, vicisse famem; magnique Penates, Phars. ii. 384.
"Submovisse hyemem tecto." . . .

Extracts from Seneca, Epist. ii. 5, 6, *De Benef.* V. iv. 4, *etc.; Hor., Carm.* II. ii. 9–12; *Claudian, De iv.* f. 70. *cons. Honorii,* 257–262.

. . . Princeps enim, donec de se ipso triumphet, obscure de hostibus triumphabit. Nihil nimirum est, unde non triumphet animi triumphator, et cætera.

Ad ambitionis quoque detestationem Christi modes- Christ an example of modesty. tiam attendamus, qui pauper in terris et pauperum comitatus turba esse perelegit, dives tamen in omnes qui invocant eum. Unde Jeronimus super illud in Evangelio, "Vulpes foveas habent," *etc.*: "Ille quidem, Matth. viii. 20. "cujus mundus palatium et secretior thalamus cœlum "empyreum, non habuit reclinatorium, nisi angustum "pauperculæ et quæstuariæ virginis uterum, humile "et vile præsepiolum, ignominiosum crucis patibulum,

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[1] *non*] om. Sen. | [2] *observanda*] observandum, MS.

"sepulchrum et hoc alienum." Notanda hæc humilitas et imitanda, qui etiam, sicut pauper in terris apparuit, sic et paupertatem suis tam verbo quam exemplo prædicavit, dicens et docens, "Beati pauperes," *etc.* . . .

Extracts from Matth. v. 3; *Luke* vi. 21; *Matth.* xviii. 3; *Luke* xxii. 25, 26; *Mark* x. 23, 25; *Matth.* vi. 19–21; *Luke* xvi. 24, 25.

. . . Et alia in hunc modum præcepta Evangelica multa reperies. De eadem quoque sententia Jeronimum audi: "Delicatus es,[1] frater, si hic vis gaudere cum sæculo "et postea regnare cum Christo"; sicut et illud ejusdem: "Delicatus est miles, qui sine certamine vult "coronari." Et alibi: "Impossibile est ut præsentibus "et futuris quis fruatur bonis, ut et ventrem hic et "ibi mentem impleat, ut a deliciis ad delicias transeat, "ut in utroque sæculo primus existat, ut et in terris "et in cœlo gloriosus appareat."

Cap. XIV.

De principis audacia et animositate.

Of the boldness and courage of a prince.

Cum autem audaces fortuna juvet et provehat, quem magis animositas et audacia quam magnos et fortunatos decet? Sicut enim non audenda inconsideranter f. 70 *b.* aggredi temeritatis est proprium et non virtutis, sic audere audenda et ratione prævia viriliter attentare virtus est. Exemplo nobis sit Julius, qui post decennales bellicos sudores, quibus Germaniam totam et Gallias, nec non et interclusas oceano Britannias, Romano subjugavit imperio, honores tantis victoriis debitos sibi æmulorum invidia non concessos, quoniam

Julius Cæsar an example.

"Arma tenenti
"Omnia dat, qui justa negat,"

ausus est armis et animositate vindicare. . . .

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[1] *es*] est, MS.

Here follows an account of Cæsar's struggle with Pompey and his adherents down to the battle of Munda, chiefly taken from Orosius, vi. 15, 16, *and the compilation of Hugo Floriacensis, p.* 22.[1] f. 71.

. . . Inde Cæsar, bellis cuilibet toto orbe compositis, Romam rediit rerumque summam ac potestatem, quam Græci monarchiam vocant, solus ac primus obtinuit, et tunc demum imperatorem se vocari fecit. Sic igitur, cui consulatus[2] ex invidia decerni non potuit, imperium sibi et orbis monarchiam armis et animositate comparavit; vir quidem, quo nullus unquam bellis magis enituit, ejus siquidem ductu undecies centum et duo millia hostium cæsa sunt. Nam quan- f. 71 *b.* tum bellis civilibus fuderit, noluit annotare, sicut supra de Providentia dictum est. Signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit, Marcum Marcellum solus supergressus,[3] qui xxxix. vicibus pari modo fuerat prœliatus. Ad hæc nullus celerius scripsit, nemo[4] velocius legit; quaternas etiam epistolas[5] simul dictavit. Tantæ fuit bonitatis, ut quos armis subegerat, clementia magis vicerit. De eo quidem Suetonius, "Cæsar nunquam militibus suis "dixit, 'Ite,' sed 'Venite.'" Unde poeta,

"Ignave, venire Lucan, Phars. v. 487.
"Te Cæsar, non ire jubet."

Primum enim ad discrimina se præferebat. De Han- Hannibal. nibale quoque legitur quod primus in prœlium ibat, ultimus conserto prœlio redibat; cui et "plurimum Livy, xxi. 4. "audaciæ ad capessenda pericula, plurimum consilii "inter ipsa pericula inerat." Sicut in descriptione ipsius a Tito Livio facta, quam supra in partibus Mansuetudinis posuimus, evidens est. De David quo- David. que rege Josephum audi: "Hic autem erat vir omni "virtute plenus, et fortis qualis non fuit alius; primus

[1] *Hugonis Floriacensis* . . . . . *Chronicon*, ed. B. Rottendorff, Münster, 1638. See the Introduction.

[2] *consulatus*] consultus, MS.

[3] *supergressus*] subgressus, MS.

[4] *nemo*] neme, MS.

[5] *epistolas*] epulas, MS.

"enim ad pericula properabat, invitans suos ad pugnam, non sicut dominus imperando, sed ipse potius operando." De principis tamen cum hoste congressu quid Elvidius senatoribus scribat audiamus: "Inter præcipuas," inquit, "virtutes est imperatorem non pugnare. Nam sic extrahitur hostis, sic impetus subitos partis adversæ frangit mora, sic interclusus commeatus in deditionem venire fame cogit.[1] Milites robusti ad pugnam faciunt. In illis enim vis corporum et manus sola spectatur. In his consilium et ratio, quæ bona præcedentis ætatis in locum virium subeunt. Ipsum præterea imperatoris [nomen] satis significat non exigere manum ipsius; imperare enim debet et præcipere in summam. Vos igitur, qui tantæ pugnæ eventum concepistis, animo attendite quantum res publica detrimenti, quantum lacrimarum, quantum luctus, amissione[2] ducis haberet, et fractis militum animis et inclinata in posterum spe." Gloriosius igitur est et longe laudabilius principem objectu corporis sui inter primos hostem conterere, sed longe periculosius; tutius autem et civilius, auctoritate præsentiæ suæ adhibita et consilio, per militares turmas hostem conficere, et cætera.

Qualities of a good general.

Ad hæc et de Amazonum virtute et animositate non hic omittendum. . . .

Here follows a long account of the Amazons, Scythians, and Parthians, professing to be taken from Trogus Pompeius.[3]

The courage of the Parthians shown in modern times in Palestine.

. . . Talis Parthorum antiquitus in armis animositas erat; qui quidem usque in hodiernum strenuitate non degenerant. Sicut his nostris diebus apud

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[1] *cogit*] cogimus, MS.

[2] *amissione*] amissio, MS.

[3] The text is very corrupt, especially in the proper names. The matter, and generally the actual words, are in the epitome of Trogus by Justinus, but the passage is neither an exact nor a consecutive quotation (i. 8, ii. 2–4, xxxvii. 1, 2, xli. 1–5, xlii. 1–4). Part at least of it appears to be copied from Hugo Floriacensis, p. 29.

Palestinam, ubi, occulto Dei judicio, sed nunquam injusto, de Christicolarum populis sub duce Saladino f. 74. publico, proh dolor, belli certamine victoria potiti sunt; et, quod majus erat, principibus postmodum nostris totisque prope modum fidelium viribus et auxiliis tam fortiter resistendo, principum tamen nostrorum invidia simul et discordia causam præstante, semper fere fortiores fuisse nimia evidentia palam fuit.

Cap. XV.

De principis gloria et nobilitate.

Sicut gloria patris est filius sapiens, sic principis Of the glory and nobility of a prince. gloria est pax subditorum et tranquillitas. Nobilitas autem principis vera est, quam sic poeta describit, Juv., Sat. viii. 20. "Nobilitas animi[1] sola est atque unica virtus." Sit nobis exemplo Augusti gloria, quo nec ullus facile Augustus an example. aut in bellis felicior fuit aut in pace moderatior; xliiij. annis, quibus solus gessit imperium, civilissime vixit, in cunctos liberalissimus, in amicos familiares fidelissimus, quos tantis evexerat honoribus, ut eos pæne æquaret fastigio suo. Imperavit annis lvi. et menses vi., xii. cum Antonio, xl. vero et iiij^or solus. Qui certe nunquam aut reipublicæ ad se potentiam tantam sic traxisset, aut tamdiu ea tam pacifice potiretur, nisi magnis naturæ bonis abundasset. Denique erga cives clementissime conversatus est, in amicos fidus exstitit; quorum præcipui erant, ob taciturnitatem Mæcenas, ob patientiam laboris modestiamque Agrippa. Cf. Suet., Oct., cap. 66. Diligebat præterea Virgilium Flaccumque poetas. Rarus quidem ad recipiendum amicitias, ad retinendum f. 74 b. constantissimus, liberalibus studiis, præsertim eloquentiæ, in tantum incumbens, ut nullus, nec in procinctu quidem, laberetur dies, quin legeret, scriberet, declamaret. Auxit, ornavitque Romam ædificiis multis, isto

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[1] *Nobilitas animi*] Atria, nobilitas, Juv.

Cf. Suet., Oct., cap. 29; Hug. Flor., p. 43.

demum glorians dicto, "Urbem latericiam repperi, "relinquo marmoream." Fuit mitis, gratus, civilis animi et lepidi; corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis. Populo vero Romano tam carus erat, ut etiam moriens divus appellaretur, cunctis de eo vulgo jactantibus, "Utinam aut non nasceretur, aut non more-"retur." Nobilitatem quoque non solum animi, sed etiam parentum maximam habebat, patre senatore Octavio natus, maternum vero genus ab Ænea per Juliam familiam sortitus, Cæsaris nepos, quem ille testamento hæredem reliquerat et nomen suum ferre jusserat, etc.

Glory is aimed at, because without it one's virtue is known but to few.

Ad gloriam autem, quæ laudis est apex et honoris, ob hoc humana spectat intentio, quod absque ea nostra virtus non multis innotescit. Horatius:

Carm. IV. ix. 29.

"Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
"Celata virtus."

Variar. Lib. I. Ep. xxiv.

Cassiodorus: "Latet quandoque sub otio laudabilis fortitudo, et, dum se prodendi non habet spatium, occulta manet lux tota meritorum." Jeronimus: "Tamen e contra virtutis," inquit, "fructum sapiens "in conscientia, stultus autem in gloria ponit." Magnatum tamen in orbe virorum virtus interdum expedit ut clarescat et imitabilem populo lucernam accendat, dum tamen ex animo laus et gloria non quærantur. Qui enim hoc agit, reperit mercedem suam. Habes autem in Evangelio ex Salvatoris nostri doctrina. [Matth. v. 15; John vii. 4.] Item Augustinus: "Laudari a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, "detestor; dolori mihi est, non voluptati. Laudari "autem a bene viventibus, si dicam, 'nolo,' mentior; "si dicam, 'volo,' timeo ne sim inanitatis appetitor, "citius[1] quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec "plene volo, ne in laude humana pericliter; non

Serm. cccxxxix.

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[1] *citius*] ticius, MS. St. Augustine (Migne, xxxviii. 1480) has "appetentior quam."

"plene nolo, ne ingrati sint quibus prædico." Scriptum est enim quia, qui famam negligit, crudelis est. Notandum hic autem quod appetitores gloriæ minus eam assequi solent, minusque cupidi, dum tamen virtuosi, copiosius eandem amplectuntur. Jeronimus in libro Epistolari: "Gloria virtutes quasi umbra sequitur et, appetitores sui deserens, diligit contemptores"; et alibi: "Plerique nimirum eo ipso placent, quod placere contemnunt, et mirum in modum laus, dum vitatur, adquiritur." Epist. cviii. Epist. xxii.

Ad gloriam autem tam poetæ quam philosophi tanquam unanimiter omnes invitant. Tullius: "Præsentes fructus contemnamus, posteritatis gloriæ serviamus." Et illud ejusdem: "Vitæ brevis est cursus, gloriæ sempiternus." Plinius: "Quicquid agas, gloria sit tibi ante oculos et æternitas." Tullius: "Cogitemus corpus esse temporale, animi vero motus et virtutis gloriam sempiternam." Et idem: "Laurea magnis periculis parta non amittere debet longo intervallo viriditatem." Juvenalis: Poets and philosophers alike, all invite to glory. Pro Sestio, 47. f. 75. De Prov. Cons. 29. Sat. iv. 17.

"Ut perhibent[1] qui de magnis majora loquuntur,
"Secundam vitam dat gloria."

Horatius: "Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori." Gloriam autem adeo immoderato affectu multi quærunt quod boni magis videri quam esse, mali autem esse magis quam videri, volunt. Horatius: "Falsus honor juvat, [et] mendax infamia terret." Præsentis autem gloriæ fructus plerumque superbia fuit. Unde Græcus Tragicus exclamat: "Gloria in millibus mortalium nihil aliud facta quam aurium inflatio magna." In qua nihil fructus esse, si aliis donis destituta sit, monstrat Juvenalis,[2] qui dicit: "Gloria quantalibet quid erit, nisi[3] gloria tantum?" Tullius: "Si quis tamen ad gloriam assequendam Carm. II. viii. 28. Epp. I. xvi. 39. Sat. vii. 81. De Offic. ii. 43.

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[1] *perhibent*] prohibent, MS. The second line is not in Juv.

[2] *Juvenalis qui dicit*] qui dicit Juvenalis, MS.

[3] *nisi*] si, Juv.

"laborat, talem se efficiat, qualis vult haberi; quod, "si ostentatione inani et ficta vel vultu stabilem se "gloriam consequi posse opinatur, vehementer errat. "Vera enim gloria radices agit, ficta autem omnia "celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt, nec simulatum "quicquam potest esse diuturnum." Unde in Job [xx. 4, 5.] Item et de eadem sententia Martialis:

"Quæ crescit ramis et non radicibus arbor,
"Æmiliane, levi flamine mota ruit;
"Qui celebris famæ ramos per inania tendit
"Non operum stipes[1] corruit ex facili."

Cap. XVI.

De differentia inter regem et tyrannum.

Of the difference between a king and a tyrant.

Rex autem, qui a regendo dicitur, primo se ipsum, deinde subditum sibi populum, regere tenetur; tyranno vero, qui vel ab urbe Tyro, quæ tyrannos educare solet, vel potius a Tyro serpente venenosissimo nomen trahere potuit, proprium est violento dominatu populum opprimere. Habet etiam rex non solum armis in bello, verum etiam legibus in pace, populum gubernare, et utroque tempore moribus electis et vitæ laudabilis exemplis informare. Quod quidem poetam non latuit ad Cæsarem his verbis scribentem: "Cum "tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus," *etc.* Claudianus:

Hor., Epp. I. i.

De iv. cons. Honor. 300.

"Nec sic inflectere sensus
"Humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis."

Tyrannus autem nec pacis nec belli tempore populi procurat indemnitatem; nec solum non instruit, sed etiam universos, utpote præesse cupiens et non prodesse, pravæ vitæ potius exemplo corrumpit.

[1] *stipes*] stipitem, MS. The lines are not in Martial.

Unus autem vobis occurrit Nero, in quem non tantum tria[1] vitia tribus virtutibus illis contraria, sed et alia cuncta flagitia et tyrannorum propria, tanquam munitum domicilium, concurrerunt. In Romana igitur historia legitur, quod Cæsar Nero, sicut hostis justitiæ et æquitatis, primus in Christianos persecutionem excitavit. Qui etiam causa effrenatæ petulantiæ fuit, ut nec a matre nec a sorore cupiditates suas compresserit, quarum parricidio demum sceleratior fuit. Nam matrem, fratrem, sororem, uxorem et omnes pæne propinquos suos crudeliter interemit. Occidit præterea plurimos senatorum et poetam Lucanum[2] et præceptorem suum Senecam, qui cum eum de clementia admovisset et de effrenata rabie quam in senatum et domesticos nequiter exercebat reprehenderet, non ei adquievit, sed ob hæc magis exacerbatus, ne ultra doctoris sui visione et alloquio frueretur, ei quod genus mortis sibi eligere magis placeret licentiam dedit. Ille vero intravit balneum et in utroque brachio se perfodi fecit, et sic exstinctus est. Sed interea incendium urbis Romæ, ut similitudinem ardentis Trojæ conspiceret, per vii.[3] dies et vii. noctes ejus paravit aspectum; quod ex altissima turre prospectans, lætus flammæ, ut jacebat,[4] pulchritudine, tragico boatu Iliadem decantabat. Sed dum hæc et multa alia mala, quæ recensere per singula nimis longum esset, reipublicæ irrogaret, Galba in Hispania imperator est creatus, et Nero Romæ tam ab universo populo quam a senatu publicus hostis judicatus est, ut qui sacrilegio fidem, parricidio pietatem, incestu pudicitiam violaverat, ipsamque potestatem Romani imperii vel officia sive negotia improbissimis libertorum commiserat. Cum enim ipse fidem nulli servaret, omnes suspectos habebat. Duobus tamen nequissimis, Nimphidio et Gemellio, se credendum putavit, quos vilis conditio sibi obnoxios fecerat, verum ipsi exemplum crudelitatis ejus quandoque perhorruere. Nam quia quosque sibi carissimos interemerat, cavere sibi

Example of Nero.

Hug. Flor., p. 53.

f. 75 *b*.

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[1] *tria*] tua, MS.

[2] *Lucanum*] Lucretium, MS., corrected.

[3] *vii.*] vi., MS.

[4] *ut jacebat*] ut aiebat, Suet., Nero, cap. 38; ut agebat, Hug. Flor.

et prævenire voluerunt, quod metuebant. Ambo igitur, cum cæteris facta conspiratione, parricidam deseruerunt. Itaque desertus ab omnibus suis fugit ex urbe et se ipsum interfecit, etc. . . .

Here follow extracts from Seneca, De Clementia, I. v. 5—viii. 1, *beginning,* "Exemplum autem principi " constituam ad quod informetur" (vii. 1), *and ending,* " Et ideo nullis magis curandum est, qualem famam " habeant, quam qui qualemcunque meruerint magnam " habituri sunt."

f. 76. Further difference between a king and a tyrant.

. . . Hanc etiam adjicimus inter regem et tyrannum differentiam, quod ille, tanquam patriæ pater atque patronus, paterno populum tractat affectu, iste vero se tanquam vitricum per omnia repræsentans, non supportare quærit, sed suppeditare, non defendere cupit, sed confundere, non construere curat, sed destruere, non prodesse parat aut properat, sed præesse, non patrocinari revera novit, sed per omnia novercari. Unde Salomon in Parabolis, "Leo rugiens," *etc.* [Prov. xxviii. 15.] Hæc quoque diversitas discrepantiam parit, quod regis vitam longam, tyranni vero brevissimam, omnes desiderant. Unde et episcopi a domino papa consecrati post completum consecrationis officium, flexis coram papa genibus, ter tanquam gratias agendo sub modulatione quadam dicere consueverunt, primo dimissius "multos " annos," deinde aliquantulum altius "multos annos," tertio vero vocem magis exaltando "multos annos," dantes intelligi "vivat papa." Percussori vero tyranni non quidem pœna, sed palma promittitur. Juxta illud, " Qui tyrannum occiderit, præmium accipiet." Interest etiam et illud quod huic animus paret, illi imperat, et quod motus hujus et affectus ratio reprimit et refrenat, efferi illius et effrenis actus omnes impetus et ira ministrant. Hoc etiam interest quod huic proprie clementia convenit, illi sævitia; huic modestia, illi ira jugis et iracundia. Cæterum quid ergo clementia? Clementia est placabilis animi status et

Custom at the consecration of bishops by the pope.

tranquillus, afflictos miserans et pœnas mitigans. Quid sævitia? Sævitia est sitibunda sanguinis atrocitas, parcere nescia, hostilitati cognata, ab humanitatis officio longe remota. Quid modestia? Modestia est temperantia, præcipites animi motus cohibens et mo- f. 76 *b*. dum observans. Quid ira vel iracundia? Ira est animi perturbatio, vindictam appetens; iracundia est frequens animi passio furori similis et modestiæ contraria. Ut autem iræ propria breviter complectamur. . . .

Here is repeated the passage, "Ira siquidem frontem "contrahit . . . . sic pius princeps et vitiorum," *from p.* 20, *above.*

. . . Ut itaque finalem inter reges et tyrannos dissonantiam assignemus, reges, diutius viventes et in bonis dies suos ducentes, demum morte naturali consumendi liberis ac nepotibus sua feliciter regna contradunt; tyrannorum autem brevis potestas est et execrabilis, eorumque finis et exitus exitialis ferro plerumque sive veneno maturatur, proximis eorum filiis aut consanguineis perraro eisdem succedentibus. Unde poeta:

"Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine[1] pauci Juven., Sat. x. 112.
"Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni."

CAP. XVII.

De tyrannorum obitu et fine cruento.

Of the death and bloody end of tyrants.

Quoniam de regibus et tyrannis eorumque diversitatibus ad invicem et differentiis præcedenti capitulo disseruimus, competens ordo deposcit quatinus de tyrannorum obitu et fine cruento nunc aggrediamur, ut, quod antea doctrinaliter edocuimus per præcepta, de cætero declaremus per exempla. Longum enim iter est, ut ait Jeronimus, per præcepta, commodum autem et compendiosum per exempla.

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[1] *sanguine*] vulnere, Juv.

Instances from Jewish history.

Primum itaque de principibus tam Juda quam Israel, deinde de Romanis imperatoribus, exempla ponemus, quatinus, auditis aliorum actibus pravis et fine consimili et jure meritorum illaudabili, ex alienis malis, tanquam ex speculis quibusdam lucidissimis, tam privati quam principes quoque seu prælati quæ sibi vitanda fuerint et fugienda valeant evidenter intueri. . . .

Here follow examples of Saul, Rehoboam, and Jeroboam, from the Vulgate.

f. 77 b. Instances in profane history.

. . . Post Veteris itaque Testamenti et Israelitici populi tyrannos enumeratos et eorum exitus pravos propalatos ad Romanorum principum tyrannicos obitus stilum vertemus. Prætermissis autem regibus, primo propter tyrannidem exactis, et tam consulibus quam dictatoribus vitio simili postmodum laborantibus, quorum etiam aliquis aurum sitiens aurum bibit, ab imperatoribus incipiemus; præmisso tamen de principibus quatuor famosissimis, Alexandro Macedone et Antiocho Epiphane, Pompeio quoque dictatore et Herode primo Ascalonita, scilicet Antipatris filio, tractatu modico, necnon et his addito de Herodis tertii, filii scilicet Aristoboli, fine similiter ignominioso, quatinus, cognitis eorum vitiis et vitatis, exitiales quoque eorundem interitus evitentur.

Alexander of Macedon.

Alexander itaque præter ambitionis vitium, quæ raro in principum animis absque tyrannide regnare solet, ebriositatis[1] vitio laboravit et tunc præcipue in domesticos et familiares suos desæviebat. Unde accidit quod semel ebrius, ut sæpe, cum in quendam sibi familiarissimum et palatii majorem capitalem noctu sententiam ferret, in vocem appellationis ille prorumpit. Sed, quoniam a minori ad majorem appellari solet, tunc in ampliorem tyrannus vino stimulante versus insaniam ait, "Sed a quo et ad quem appel-"-las?" Et ille, "Ab Alexandro," inquit, "ebrio ad

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[1] *ebriositatis*] ebriositas, MS.

"Alexandrum sobrium." Et quoniam, ut ait Salomon, "Responsio mollis frangit iram," *etc.*, et philosophum[1] obsequiis colere oportet non verbis exasperare potestatem, mitigatus hac responsione parumper princeps, reservari præcipiens illum usque in crastinum sententiæ differri præcepit executionem. Et tunc vino digesto, quo maduerat, vitium suum ipse devovens et detestans letalem sententiam dilatione data lætus non mediocriter et exhilaratus in irritum revocavit. Sed, quoniam eo ipso genere delicti quo plus laborant plerosque perire[2] videmus, vir tantus, orientali totaliter orbe subacto, convocatis principibus suis in convivio publico, gaudio resolutus et vinolentus denique suorum insidiis vino, cui trans modestiam datus fuerat, periit[3] venenato, sicut supra in capitulo de Providentia dictum est. Prov. xv. i.

Herodes autem Ascalonita, occupato regno Judaico, cum esset alienigena, non una contentus aut paucis, sed tyrannidem in suos omnem exercuit; et non solum in subditos, quibus violenter dominabatur, populos, verum[4] etiam in familiares et domesticos et naturali quoque necessitudine conjunctissimos, adeo ut, perpetratis prius enormibus immensis et infinitis, demum filiis propriis et uxore peremptis, divinam ultionem non evasit. Intestinorum namque dolore correptus et excruciatus, tanto et tam vehementi plexus annexitatis incommodo, ut plerumque, tanquam in furiam versus, altius et horribilius exclamando ferrum sibi quam pluries in remedium postularet; ventre siquidem et corpore toto sic intumescens erat et putrescens, quod demum a necessariis cunctis, qui ob fœtorem nimium nec ministrare poterant ei nec appropiare, desertus fuit et destitutus. Grandi nimirum et gravi passione percussus et punitus, dum corpus adhuc vivum tanquam cadaver mortuum, exquisita quidem et intolera- f. 78. Herod the Ascalonite.

[1] *philosophum*] philosophus, MS.
[2] *perire*] periri, MS.
[3] *periit*] pariit, MS.
[4] *verum*] iterum, MS.

bili in terris pœna vere Gehennam jam inchoante, vermibus undique scatere, putrescere fecit et fœtere.

Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus autem Epiphanes inter Alexandri magni successores maximus habebatur et in terrarum occupationibus potentissimus. Hic vero, Judæa sibi subjugata et Syria tota, demum urbem sanctam Jerosolimitanam armis cepit et, cædibus insistens cruentissimis templum ipsum profanare sacrisque vasis et ornamentis aurique et argenti gratis immensis spoliare præsumpsit et asportare. Nec longe quidem post, quoniam ante ruinam exaltabitur cor, ira quidem erga Judæos graviore succensus et furia majore debacchatus, Jerosolimam venire contendens, quam etiam, sicut in libro Machabæorum legitur, congeriem sepulchri Judæorum se facturum esse dicebat, percussus est a Domino insanabili et invisibili plaga. "Apprehendit enim eum "dolor viscerum dirus . . . . et, ut ipse alios "tractaverat, peregre in montibus miserabili obitu vita "functus est."

2 Machab. ix. 5–12, 28.

f. 78 *b*.

Herod Agrippa. Hic autem de Herode tertio, scilicet Aristoboli filio, loco competenti disseremus. De quo Lucas in Actibus Apostolorum scribit in hunc modum: "Statuto autem "die Herodes vestitus veste regia sedit . . . . "et consumptus a vermibus exspiravit." De quo et Josephus[1] hæc: "Dum impietatem illicitæ adulationis "non exhorret, respiciens paulo post imminentem et "assistentem capiti suo vidit angelum, eumque sensit "exitii sui ministrum, quem prius noverat provisorem "bonorum. Idem continuis quinque diebus ventris "dolore cruciato vitam violenter eripuit."

Act. Apost. xii. 21–23.

Pompey. Pompeius autem Romanus, consul pluries et dictator, civis diu maximus et felicissimus, post multarum gentium victorias et fortunatos ubique fere successus,

[1] The reference is to Josephus, *Antiqq.*, xix. 82, but the translation is not exact. It is nearly the same as in Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Scholast.*, Act. Apost., cap. lxiv. (Migne, cxcviii. 1688).

tandem Judæa subacta Jerosolimam [1] etiam expugnavit et templum irrupit, quod Faustus Cornelius, Sillæ filius, primum intrare præsumpsit; et deinde irruentes Romani [2] passim locum sacrum profanaverunt et equos etiam in templi parietibus stabulaverunt. Quamobrem, vel ut ultione divinitus data, non longe post civile bellum exortum est; in quo mutata fortuna victus a Cæsare fuit et ad regem Ptolomæum in Ægiptum fugiens, tam juvenilem expertus inconstantiam quam Ægiptiacam quoque perfidiam, ab eodem ob favorem [3] Cæsaris, immo timorem, cui caput ejus et annulum destinavit, est decollatus. Notandum hic etiam quod, quanquam Pompeius templum profanasset, nihil tamen inde sumi vel asportari permisit, quinimmo postero die templum ingressus, admiratus situm et ornatum et religionem templi, nihil inde tulit, sed æditius præcepit ut locum sacrum a sordibus mundarent. Dignum et hoc etiam nota videtur, quod, quamvis per homines interdum, tanquam instrumenta, in male meritos Deus ultionem exerceat, in ipsos tamen ultores tam irreverentiam postmodum et indevotionem, sicut in utroque claruit, Antiocho scilicet [et] Pompeio, quam pravam quoque grassandi ulciscitur voluntatem.

De principibus autem nunc Romanis, et primum de imperatore et monarcha primo, juxta promissam tractandi seriem ordientes, tyrannos exempli causa singulos et eorum exitus ordine competenti prosequemur. Julius itaque Cæsar, cujus amplitudini arctus erat orbis, devicto Pompeio atque senatu eorumque ducibus undique cunctis, post consulatus et dictaturas [4] ante pluries adeptas, quia mundi monarchiam et singulare dominium atque imperium sibi usurpavit et magistratus omnes ac dignitates pro arbitrio suo distribuit, Julius Cæsar. f. 79.

[1] From here to "mundarent" agreeing closely with Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, 2 Machab. cap. ix.

[2] *Romani*] Romam, MS.

[3] *favorem*] furorem, MS., corrected by a later hand.

[4] *dictaturas*] dictature, MS.

cum annis jam tribus et sex mensibus imperasset, facta in ipsum conjuratione clandestina, auctoribus Bruto et Cassio senatuque favente et procurante, a militibus cc. et xl., xxiij. vulneribus in Capitolio confossus interiit. Romanus vero populus tam vehementi dolore ob tanti principis sui casum est stimulatus, quod Capitolium cum cædis auctoribus incendere paraverit; apud quos etiam ita memorabilis factus est ut omnes post illum imperatores Cæsares nuncuparent. Cineres autem ejus in summitate columnæ solidæ quadratæ Numidici lapidis miræ magnitudinis et altitudinis conclusos olla ænea deaurata collocarunt. Sicut et adhuc hodie juxta basilicam beati Petri a peregrinis cum admiratione conspicitur; et quæ quondam Julia vocata fuit, nunc Acus beati Petri vulgo nuncupatur. In qua inscriptum fuerat:—

Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 23.

Suet., Jul. cap. 85.

"Tantus Cæsar eras quantus et orbis,
"Sed nunc in modica clauderis urna.[1]

De duobus autem principibus inter mundi principes maximis magisque conspicuis, Alexandro scilicet et Julio, quorum exitus hic descripsimus, quos ambos a studiis litterarum traxit cura terrarum—de his, inquam, eorumque laudibus et titulis mortisque signis et prodigiis supra, in Prudentiæ partibus et Providentiæ, lector diligens plenius poterit invenire.

Mark Antony.

Marcum autem Antonium, qui et consul Romanus exstiterat, Juliique Cæsaris fautor et ultor, quique, devictis atque peremptis ab ipso et Octaviano Bruto et Cassio, tantæ cædis tantique sceleris auctoribus, cum Octaviano divisit imperium, hic prætereundum non decrevimus. Marcus autem Antonius, adepto orientali imperio, nimia ductus insolentia, repudiata Octaviani sorore, Cleopatram Ægipti reginam duxit

[1] *urna*] vina, MS.; antro, Will. Malm., *Gesta Regum*, ii. § 194 (ed. Stubbs, p. 235), where the lines are the beginning of an epitaph to the emperor Henry III. They are given as referring to Cæsar in the *Mirabilia Romæ* (Urlichs, *Cod. urbis Romæ Topogr.*, 1871, p. 105).

in uxorem; et, quoniam ante ruinam exaltabitur cor, uxoris instinctu, quæ jam in urbe regnare cupiebat, rupto fœdere, civile bellum grande commovit. Sed ab Octaviano Cæsare, qui post hanc victoriam dictus est Augustus et monarchiam integre suscepit, sub Actiaco[1] promontorio navali pugna clara et illustri victus est. Sed fuga elapsus in Ægiptum rediit, ubi rebus omnino desperatis, cum omnes ad Cæsarem transire videret, ipse se interemit; Cleopatra vero exornata diversis ornamentis ad Cæsarem venit, sperans eum, ut cæteros, sua specie ad libidinem illicere. Sed ille intra pudicitiam [se] coarctans, ad ejus concupiscentiam minime inflexus, eam mox custodiri mandavit; quæ, minus cauta elapsa, in pretioso sepulchro juxta Antonium suum se collocans, aspidem admisit et veneno ejus exstincta est. Et sic Ægiptus per Octavianum Augustum imperio Romano adjecta est. f. 79 *b*.

Tiberius, Augusti privignus, sed et in filium et successorem adoptatus et sublimatus, primum cum magna modestia rei publicæ præfuit, adeo ut, quibusdam sibi suadentibus tributa provinciis adaugeret,[2] responderit[3] boni pastoris esse pecus tondere non deglutire.[4] Verum processu temporis occasione litterarum quas ei Pilatus priusquam senatui de Christi passione et resurrectione sub ipso facta destinaverat, unde volebat Cæsar ut Christus Deus haberetur, senatu ob indignationem prædictam contradicente, tanta inter ipsos exorta est discordia, quod ab illa denique die cœpit mutari Cæsaris laudatissima prius modestia in pœnam contradictoris senatus. Nam non multis diebus interpositis plurimos[5] senatorum proscripsit et ad mortem coegit; xx. sibi patricios viros

Tiberius. Hug. Flor., p. 43. Cf. Orosius, vii. 4. Suet., Tib., cap. 32. Hug. Flor p. 45.

[1] *Actiaco*] actico, MS.

[2] *adaugeret*] adaugenda, Hug. Flor.

[3] *responderit*] Hug. Flor.; respondit, MS.

[4] *deglutire*] deglubere, Suet., Hug. Flor.

[5] *plurimos*] plurimis, MS.

consilii causa elegerat, quorum vix duos reliquit incolumes. Sejanum quoque, præfectum suum, res novas molientem, interfecit; Drusum etiam et Germanicum filios suos, quorum Drusus naturalis filius, Germanicus vero erat adoptivus, veneno perdidit; sed et Germanici filios interemit. Sicque contigit ut, qui spreverant Christo salvari, Cæsare proprio punirentur; verum hoc, quod senatus consecrationem Christi recusavit, divina dispensatione factum est, ne Christus putaretur humanis assentatoribus[1] indigere. Ille vero, quia Claudius Tiberius dicebatur, eleganter a joculatoribus Claudius Biberius ob meri violentiam nuncupatus est; satis prudens in armis, satisque fortunatus, ante sumptum imperium sub Augusto Cæsare fuit, adeo ut non immerito rei publicæ dominatus ei committeretur. Inerat ei scientia litterarum multa; eloquio clarior, sed ingenio pessimo, truci, avaro, insidioso, simulans ea se velle quæ nollet, his quasi infensus quibus consultum cupiebat, his vero quos oderat quasi benivolus apparens, repentinis responsionibus aut consiliis melior quam meditatis. Nusquam ipse pugnavit; bella per legatos gessit suos; quosdam reges ad se per blanditias evocatos nunquam remisit.

Cf. Suet., Tib., cap. 42.

Birth of Christ.

Hujus imperii anno xv° Dominus Jesus Christus, qui, Augusto regnante et mundo summa pacis tranquillitate gaudente, ex virgine natus est et de Spiritu Sancto conceptus, prædicationis suæ sumpsit initium; octavo quoque et decimo ejusdem anno Christus Jesus filius Dei pro nobis sese morti offerens crucifixus est.

Testimony of Josephus to Christ.

De quo Josephus postmodum, Vespasiani et Titi temporibus historicus eximius, in libris Antiquitatum inter cætera veritatem, quanquam veritati forte non crederet, historica veritate tacere non potuit, cumque
f. 80. calamitates et ea que Judaico populo sub unoquoque imperatorum per succedentia tempora [acciderunt] seriatim narraret, dicit quod tempore Tiberii Cæsaris, pro-

[1] *assentatoribus*] "id est affirmatoribus," in margin; assertoribus, Hug. Flor.

curante Pontio Pilato Judæam, in Judæa ipsa quidam verus propheta erat in hunc modum: "Fuit autem iisdem temporibus Jesus, sapiens vir, si tamen virum eum nominare fas est. Erat enim mirabilium operum effector et doctor hominum eorum qui libenter quæ vera sunt audiunt, et multos quidem Judæorum, multos etiam ex gentibus, sibi adjunxit. Christus hic erat. Hunc,[1] accusatione primorum nostræ gentis virorum, cum Pilatus in crucem agendum esse decrevisset, non deseruerunt hi qui ab initio eum dilexerunt. Apparuit autem eis iterum tertio die vivens, secundum quod divinitus inspirati prophetæ vel hæc vel alia de eo innumera miracula futura esse prædixerant. Sed in odium Christianorum, qui ab ipso nuncupati sunt, et nomen perseverat et genus." Porro patet abhinc evidenter et manifeste quanta Judæorum malitia et in propriam perniciem quanta[2] obstinata et indurata perfidia, quod etiam historici sui et historici magni, cujus librum Hebraice penes se scriptum habent et auctenticum reputant, solum de Christo testimonium non admittunt. Quinimmo, cum objicitur eis hoc auctoris sui testimonium, dicunt et mentiuntur in libris suis Hebraicis istud nunquam vel inventum fuisse vel appositum. Sed prior Sanctæ Frideswidæ apud Oxoniam, magister Robertus, quem vidimus et qui vir erat antiquus et auctenticus, cujus etiam ultima tempora nostra occuparunt prima, cum esset vir litteratus et in scripturis eruditus et Hebraicæ quoque linguæ non ignarus, misit ad urbes Angliæ diversas et oppida in quibus Judæi mansionem habebant, a quibus Josephus plurimos Hebraice scriptos et precario concessos, quoniam magis eum familiarem propter linguam Hebraicam quam noverat habebant, simul collegit. In quorum duobus testimonium hoc de

Cf. Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol., Evang., cap. xxix.

Nota bene.

Proof of Jewish malice by Robert, prior of St. Frideswid Oxford.

[1] *Hunc*] heñt, MS.

[2] *quanta*] qui, MS.

Christo consequenter et integre scriptum invenit, immo vero quasi nuper abrasum; in aliis autem omnibus ab antiquo substractum et quasi nunquam appositum. Quod cum Judæis Oxoniæ ad hoc convocatis ostensum fuisset, non mediocriter super fraudulenta malitia sua et erga Christi fidem invidia convicti fuerunt et confusi. Ex his itaque patet verum fuisse quod dicit Jeronimus, Judæos in primitiva ecclesia, cum viderent imperatores et reges terrarum ac principes jugo Christi jam subjectos Christique fidem per orbem universum dilatatam, facto inter ipsos tanquam condicto, clandestino tamen et occulto, cunctas auctoritates in libris suis, quibus fides Christiana innititur et fulcitur, aut variando corrupisse, aut ex toto subtraxisse. Unde, cum correcti olim fuissent libri Hebraici, quam Græci quam
f. 80 b. Latini, hodie et ex tunc longe correctiores sunt libri Latini et Græci quam Hebraici.

Hug. Flor., p. 48. Tiberius itaque Cæsar, cum immani furore de die in diem gravius accrescente suos pariter et externos perimeret et puniret, direptis undique provinciis, cum imperasset annis xxii., demum insidiis Gaii Caligulæ exstinctus est. Caligula. Successit autem Tiberio Gaius Cæsar, cognomento Caligula, Drusi privigni Augusti et ipsius Tiberii nepos, sceleratissimus ac funestissimus et qui etiam Tiberii dedecora purgavit. Bellum contra Germanos suscepit et ingressus Sueviam nil strenue fecit. Stupra sororibus intulit; ex una etiam natam filiam cognovit. Hug. Flor., p. 48. Et, quia in exercitu natus fuerat, agnomen calciamenti militaris, id est Caligula, sortitus est. Hic primo imperii sui anno Herodem tetrarcham, incestuosum illum et crudelem, qui Johannem Baptistam decollaverat et Dominum nostrum veste alba indutum remiserat ad Pilatum, honore spoliatum, una cum Herodiade adultera, perpetuo condemnavit exilio. Puellam quoque [quæ] saltaverat in decollatione Johannis Baptistæ vivam terra deglutivit. Pontius quoque Pilatus non remansit impunitus, sed apud Viennam Galliæ super Rodanum in exilium jussus propria manu se interfecit. His etiam diebus Judæi apud

Alexandriam, seditione excitata, cæde profligati et urbe projecti[1] expromendarum querelarum causa miserunt ad Cæsarem Philonem Judæum quendam, virum eloquio affluentissimum et in sensibus profundissimum, pariter interpretatione[2] atque intelligentia divinarum Scripturarum subtilissimum; verum Cæsar sprevit ejus legationem, quoniam Judæis erat infestissimus. Jam enim Judæos ubique pro commisso scelere in Jesum Dei filium ultio divina damnabat. Tunc Philo egressus a Gaio circumstantibus ait: "Bono animo nos "esse convenit, quibus iratus est Gaius; necesse est enim "adesse divinum, ubi humanum cessat auxilium." Demum vero idem Cæsar templum quod erat Jerosolimis jussit profanari sacrificiis gentilium, Jovis statua ibi collocata. Se quoque fastu superbo ut deum cœli et terræ coli et adorari præcepit; et, cum esset flagitiosissimus, sorores suas libidine cognitas exilio condemnavit. Obscœnitate denique morum omnibus odibilis factus, a suis protectoribus, id est a Prætorianis militibus, est occisus.

De Constantio[3] vero miti et amabili principe et Constantino ejusdem filio principe magno, qui a beato Silvestro papa tam interioris hominis quam etiam exterioris lavacrum meruit, ad principum partem reservantes laude dignorum, a Constantio, Constantini Magni filio, nunc ordiemur. Hic post patris obitum Romanum assecutus imperium statim a fide Catholica perniciosis familiarium suorum consiliis depravatus in Arrianam hæresim, quæ tunc pullulabat, contagio suorum declinavit. Unde tanta est in clero tunc temporis persecutio facta, quod presbyteri et clerici intra ecclesias ab Arrianis necarentur. Qua persecutione fervente passus est Romæ beatus martyr Eusebius; papa vero sua sede privatus habitavit in prædiolo proprio via Porticensi, ubi etiam requievit in pace. Exilio quoque pulsi sunt prælati Catholici quam plurimi; inter quos fuere Athanasius Alexandrinus, Eusebius Vercellensis[4] et Hillarius Pictavensis

Constantius. Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 98.

The Arian heresy. f. 81.

[1] *projecti*] protecti, MS.
[2] *interpretatione*] interpretationem, MS.
[3] *Constantio*] Constantino, MS.
[4] *Vercellensis*] Nercellensis, MS.

insignes episcopi. Porro perfidus ille tantorum auctor malorum Arrius non evasit etiam in terris impunitus. Ambulans enim in foro Constantinopolitano et ventre rugiente commotus,[1] ad secessum properans, non solum egestiones per inferius orificium turpiter emisit, verum etiam intestina cuncta per os superius, digna pro meritis passione percussus, effudit, vitam priusquam perfidiam terminando. Notanda est igitur justissima Dei vindicta, quod eodem ore polluto, quo contra Christi fidem libros sacrilegos et doctrinam perniciosam evomuit, intestina cuncta plectibiliter et damnabiliter effudit, sicut et Judas Christi proditor laqueo proprio suspensus crepuit medius et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus. In hoc autem quod non per os sed per ventris crepitum effusa sunt, parcitum[2] est ori quo Dominum, quanquam intentione prava, paulo ante fuerat osculatus.

Death of Arius.

De Machumeto quoque, per quem multa nimis mala contigerunt et adhuc hodie contingunt,[3] digna divinitus ultio data fuit, quod in platea noctu corruens vinolentus, quoniam immunditiam prædicaverat et spurcitiam, a porcis, quæ immunda animalia reputantur, est devoratus. Unde et Machumetini, quia prophetam eorum vino madentem porci devorarunt, sibi ab utroque, vino scilicet et porco, abstinentiam indixerunt. Quidam tamen aiunt eos in hoc quod porco abstinent Judaizare; Machumetus enim quædam a Judæis sumpsit et quædam a Christianis. In hoc autem quod abstinent vino propter calidas regiones in quibus habitant, ne nimio calore periclitentur, physicam in hoc magistri sui doctrinam sequuntur, etc.

Mahomet devoured by pigs.

Hac præterea tempestate Saraceni, qui et Thurci dicuntur, Machumeto pseudopropheta eis ducatum præbente, a suis sedibus exierunt et imperium Heraclii graviter devastare

Rise of the Saracens. Hug. Flor., p. 149.

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[1] *commotus*] commota, MS.

[2] *parcitum*] parcium, MS.

[3] *contingunt*] contingit, MS.

cœperunt. Porro Machumetus iste pseudopropheta tam famosus, et Saracenorum et Arabum demum princeps effectus, de genere Ysmaelis, filii Abrahæ, fertur fuisse. Et, quoniam error institutus ab ipso tot populos exorbitare fecit et prorsus in devium duxit, mores ejus ac promotionis ipsius modos, dolos multiplices et deceptiones plenius hic explicare non inutile nec superfluum reputavimus. Hic etenim, cum in primæva ætate sua esset, mercator pergebat frequenter cum camelis suis apud Ægiptum et Palestinam, conversabatur cum Judæis et Christianis, a quibus tam Novum quam Vetus Testamentum didicit, sed et magus[1] perfectissimus effectus est. Et cum hac illacque discurreret, contigit ut Corozaniam[2] ingrederetur provinciam, cujus provinciæ domina Chadita nominabatur. Quæ cum diversas species quas secum Machumetus attulerat miraretur, cœpit ei præfata mulier familiarius adhærere. Quam Machumetus, incantationum suarum perstrictam phantasmate, cœpit astu paulatim in errorem inducere, dicens ei quod ipse esset Messias, quem esse venturum adhuc Judæi exspectant. Suffragabantur verbis ejus tam incantationum præstigia quam calliditatis ejus ingenia copiosa. Qua opinione non solum potens mulier decepta est, sed et omnes Judæi ad quos fama ejus pertingere poterat cum Saracenis catervatim confluebant, attoniti tanta novitate rei. Quibus cœperat novas leges fingere et eis tradere, adhibens ipsis legibus testimonia de utroque Testamento, quas leges appellant suas, eumque suum legislatorem esse fatentur. Præfata quoque mulier, videns hominem Judæorum et Sarracenorum pariter contubernio vallatum, existimabat in illo divinam latere majestatem; et, cum esset vidua, assumpsit eum maritum. Sic Machumetus totius provinciæ illius obtinuit principatum. Demum vero Arabes ei adhærentes regnum Persidis infestare cœperunt, ac demum Orientalis imperii fines usque Alexandriam super Heraclium invadere. Demum vero Machumetus cœpit cadere frequenter epilemptica passione. Quod Cadiga cernens oppido tristabatur, eo quod nupsisset impurissimo homini et epilemptico. Quam ille placare desiderans demulcebat eam dicens, quia "Gabrielem archangelum loquentem "mecum contemplor et non ferens splendorem vultus ejus,

History of Mahomet.

f. 81 b.

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[1] *magus*] magis, MS.

[2] *Corozaniam*] Coronaziam, MS.; Chorazaniam, Hug. Flor.

"utpote carnalis homo, deficio et cado." Credidit ergo mulier et omnes Arabes et Hismaelitæ quod ex ore archangeli Gabrielis illas suscepisset leges, quas suis discipulis dabat, eo quod Gabriel archangelus sæpe a Deo in terris hominibus sanctis mitti solet. Notandum hic autem mira versutia et arte diabolica, cujus exquisita operatus est malitia in omnibus ad decipiendum, usum fuisse. Pro lege namque statuit quicquid homini magis placere cognovit. Proinde, quoniam libidinosos novit Orientales, calore regionis urgente et ad hoc impellente, cuilibet tot uxores et concubinas quot de facultatibus suis sustentare valeret pro legis articulo habere concessit.

Tenets of the modern Patari.

Sicut et eadem arte hostis antiqui hæretici nostri temporis, Patari[1] scilicet, ad decipiendum nunc utuntur; in frigidis enim his zonis, ubi constringit algor et avaros reddit, suadent hominibus avaritiam, suggerentes et quasi pro lege statuentes decimas non esse sacerdotibus dandas nec oblationes ecclesiis faciendas. Unde, si unanimes essent in errore suo, et non per diversas hæresium sectas inter se discederent, sicut a prudente quodam in Italia clerico didicimus, hodie Occidentalis ecclesia multis in locis ex parte majore graviter absque dubio læsa fuisset, in Italie vero et Provinciæ finibus, ut creditur, ex toto succubuisset; sed Christus, qui in fine Evangelii Marci dicit apostolis et discipulis, "Ecce, ego vobiscum sum omnibus "diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi," navem Petri crebris procellis concuti permittit, sed non quati, continuisque circum[2] tundi fluctibus, non confundi, archam[3] semper verti et vergi sed non mergi, salubre remedium hoc adhibuit, etc.

f. 82.

Matth. xxviii. 20.

Charles Martel. Hug. Flor., p. 160.

His autem diebus Childebertus moriens regnum Francorum deseruit habendum filio suo Dagoberto; sed et Pipinus, Major regiæ domus, defunctus est, cui successit filius

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[1] *Patari*] Pacari, MS.
[2] *circum*] tirum, MS.
[3] *archam*] arthurum, MS.

Karolus, qui Tudides appellabatur a majoribus malleis fabrorum, quibus tundi et extenuari gravior ferri materia solet. Qui etiam Major regalis aulæ factus sub Dagoberto juniore satis strenue cum Sarracenis pugnavit; nam præcedenti tempore Saraceni ex Africa transfretantes Hispaniam sibi subjugaverant, indeque Karoli temporibus cum uxoribus et parvulis erumpentes Aquitannicam Galliæ provinciam invaserunt et usque ad Séptimaniæ et Viennensis provinciæ fines quosque depopulantes pervenerunt. Sed hos Karolus Tutides duobus magnis præliis, uno in Aquitannia apud Pictaviam, et altero juxta Narbonem, ita devicit ut Hispaniam eos redire compelleret. In quo bello ccccclxv.[1] Saracenorum milia interfecit. Iste est Karolus, qui propter assiduitatem bellorum res ecclesiasticas laicis tradidit. Pugnavit etiam contra Saxones et Bavarios, quos cum magna difficultate superavit. Cum Heudone Aquitannorum duce sæpe dimicavit; et Raunfredum comitem regalis palatii a palatio expulit, sed unam tantum ei civitatem, hoc est Andegavensem, concessit, et cætera. Obiit autem his diebus in Francia Karolus Tutides, relicto Pipino filio suo palatii procuratore et domus regiæ Majore.

He defeats the Saracens.

Erat autem rex in Francia tunc temporis Hildericus, qui, cum esset vir inutilis ac remissus et nil præter regis nomen et precarium victum, quem[2] ei aulæ Præfectus regiæ ministrabat, de tota potentia regni possideret, Pippinus per nuncios suos Romam destinatos interrogabat papam tunc Zachariam, utrum ille deberet esse rex Franciæ qui, otio deditus, solo nomine regio erat contentus. Cui pontifex remandavit illum debere appellari regem, qui rem bene regeret publicam; qua responsione Franci animati, Hilderico in monasterio detruso et monachali tunica palliato, Pippinum sibi regem constituerunt. Qui, ubi rex est creatus, omnes sibi rebellantes magna potestate subegit et Griphonem fratrem ejus regem fecit Austrisiorum, et Cassilonem, suum ex sorore nepotem, ducem instituit[3] Bavariorum, etc. Interea vero rex Francorum Pipinus copiosum movit a Gallia exercitum memorato Stephano Romano pontifici præbiturus auxilium; et ingressus Italiam regem Asculphum obsedit et xl. obsides ab eo suscepit, ut

Pipin. Hug. Flor., p. 163.

f. 82 *b*.

Made king of the Franks.

Hug. Flor., p. 168.

He invades Italy.

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[1] *ccccclxv.*] ccclxv., Hug. Flor.
[2] *quem*] quod, MS.
[3] *instituit*] restituit, MS.

beato apostolo Petro et sancto papæ Stephano omnia prædia restitueret, quodque nunquam amplius Romanam ecclesiam inquietare præsumeret. Sed hoc totum, recedente Pippino, Asculphus irritum fecit; sed non post magnum temporis intervallum, dum quadam die venatum pergeret, subito Dei percussus judicio exspiravit. Mortuo autem Asculpho Desiderius ei successit. Eoque tempore Pippinus rex Francorum Constantini imperatoris magna dona recepit, et ab Italia rediens contra Waiferum Aquitannorum ducem cum filio suo Karolo perrexit. Qui, cum tribus expeditionibus Acquitanniam viriliter invaderet, tertia tandem eam sibi totam subjugavit, et intra pagum Petrogoricum Acquitanniæ ducem Gauferum[1] interfecit. Post hæc autem Pippinus rex Francorum bellicosissimus Saxoniam intravit et illam expugnavit; Bavariam quoque totam sibi vindicavit. Interea Constantinus nefandissimus imperator contra Bulgaros pergens horribilem infirmitatem incurrit, qua et defunctus, non minus quam Diocletianus sanguine martyrum plenus. Cui successit Leo Cazarus[2] filius ejus. Leo Cazarus imperavit annis v., quorum ultimo defunctus occubuit, pauca sui vel boni vel mali monumenta relinquens. His diebus Pippinus, qui ab auctoritate Romani pontificis Zachariæ ex præfecto palatii Francorum rex fuerat institutus, obiit in Parisica urbe, anno regni sui xv°, Incarnationis vero Christi dcc. et lxix., superstitibus liberis Karolo et Karolomanno, ad quos pertinebat regni successio. Quorum Karolus in Noviomensi urbe regiam suscepit coronam et frater ejus Karolomannus Suessionis. Sed Karolomannus, transacto biennio quo sublimatus est in regno, vita decessit, et uxor ejus et filii ad Desiderium regem Longobardorum nulla vi compulsi fugerunt, ejus patrocinium expetentes[3]; sicque, totius regni Francorum consensu virorum, Karolus regni monarchiam obtinuit solus.

He subdues Aquitaine, Saxony, and Bavaria.

Death of Pipin.

Nota de morte Pipini Francorum regis.

Charles the Great, king of the Franks, A.D. 769.

Hug. Flor., p. 169.

Karolus autem primo regni sui anno statim Aquitanniam ingressus, expugnato duce Hunoldo, eam sibi totam subjugavit. Interim autem legatus Romanæ ec-

Subdues Aquitaine.

[1] *Gauferum*] So MS.; though "Waiferum" just above.

[2] *Leo Cazarus*] Leocazarus, MS.

[3] *expetentes*] expectentes, MS., the *c* being interlined in the same hand.

clesiæ Petrus,[1] ab Adriano pontifice missus, ad eundem gloriosum regem Karolum venit, postulans ab eo auxilium contra Longobardorum regem Desiderium, qui, more patris sui Asculphi, Romanam inquietabat ecclesiam. Cui Karolus obediens, bellum contra Desiderium magna virium copia præparavit, et per montem Cenyseum Italiam introivit, et cum forti robore Papiam Italiæ civitatem circumdedit, et ibi regem Desiderium cepit et in exilium misit. Præterea filium Desiderii Adalgisum a regno patrio effugavit et subactæ Italiæ filium suum Pipinum regem constituit. Quo in Italia composito negotio, Saxonicum bellum arripuit. Saxones autem sunt demum ejus virtute perdomiti et emolliti, ut decem millia hominum ex eis cum parvulis et uxoribus sublatos[2] transtulerit[3] et per Galliam et Germaniam multimoda divisione distribueret. Talique tandem conditione bellum constat esse finitum ut, abjecto dæmonum cultu, Christianæ fidei sacramenta susciperent et Francis uniti unus populus efficerentur.

f. 83.

Invades Lombardy [A.D. 774].

Submission of the Saxons [A.D. 777]. Hug. Flor., p. 170.

His itaque sic feliciter exactis, dispositis per loca congrua præsidiis, Hispaniam est ingressus, saltuque Pirenæi superato et omnibus quæ adierat oppidis atque castellis in deditionem susceptis, reversus est. Sed, dum inde rediret, in ipso Pirenæi jugo Guasconum perfidiam est expertus; nam, cum agmine longo, ut loci et angustiarum situs permittebat, porrectus iret exercitus, Guascones, in sinu montis insidiis collocati,[4] extremam partem agminis invaserunt et in subjectam vallem dejecerunt, consertoque cum eis prœlio omnes quos invenerunt interfecerunt. In quo prœlio Egibardus, regiæ mensæ præpositus, et Anselmus, comes palatii, et Rollandus, præfectus limitis Britannici, cum aliis quam plurimis sunt interfecti; ex quibus Rollandus ad Blaviæ castellum[5] deportatus est ac sepultus.

Invades Spain [A.D. 778].

Nota de exercitu Franciæ in Guasconia confecto, et Rollando interfecto.

Death of Roland.

Post hæc autem rex Karolus, subjugatis Narbonensibus, in Franciam est regressus; et non post multum tempus

Expedition of Charles into Italy.

[1] *Petrus*] Hug. Flor.; petens, MS. See the *Annales Francorum*, Bouquet, vol. v. p. 19.

[2] *sublatos*] So Eginhard, cap. vii., and Hug. Flor.; subliacos, MS.

[3] *transtulerit*] transferret, Hug. Flor.

[4] *collocati*] collocatis, Hug. Flor.

[5] *ad Blaviæ castellum*] Blauia castello, Hug. Flor. Roland was buried at Blaye, near Bordeaux.

Hug. Flor., p. 170. usque Capuam Campaniæ urbem per Italiam perrexit, et inde rediens bellum Beneventanis indixit. Verum dux provinciæ, Aragisus nomine, regis ferocitatem ferre non valens, filios suos Romaldum et Grimaldum obsides ei pro conservanda fidelitate transmisit; et iterum post hæc Karolus ad Galliam est reversus. Bavonicum[1] denique bellum est illatum[2]; Dani vero Suevis et Sclavis[3] erant fœderati. Sed hos omnes una tantum expeditione rex sæpe dictus ita edomuit ac contudit, ut ulterius illi mallent subesse quam rebellare. Hunos quoque et Avaros idem rex potentissimus aggressus est, quod bellum infra octavum quo cœptum est annum feliciter est consummatum. Totam præterea Frisiam et partes maritimas suo dominatui subjugavit.

He subdues the Bavarians, Sclaves, Huns, &c. [A.D. 788–798].

Acknowledged as lord by the kings of the Britons and Scots.

Reges etiam Britonum et Scotorum ipsum, et nuntiis suis et donariis atque exeniis, tanquam dominum venerabantur.

The emperor Nicephorus defeated and slain by the Bulgari [A.D. 811]. Hug. Flor., p. 177.

Nicephorus itaque, sicut superius jam dictum est, ex patricio imperator creatus [est] et imperavit annis octo. Hic fuit vir crudelis et avarissimus, et in negotiis imperialibus segnis et remissus. Hic octavo imperii sui anno perrexit prœliaturus contra Burgares[4] cum Stauracio filio suo, f. 83 b. in quo prœlio, cum cæde suorum magna filioque suo letaliter vulnerato, superatus est et occisus, et caput ipsius ad ostentationem plebis in ligno suspensum.

A tyrant's end.

Tales itaque sunt exitus tyrannorum et a Domino desertorum. Unde et illud Valerii Maximi et hic apponi præter rem non putavi: "Rex quidam oblatum sibi "diadema cum diu in manu, priusquam capiti im"poneret, tenuisset, tandem inquit, 'O magis nobilem "'quam felicem pannum, quem, si quis penitus "'agnoverit quantus sit refertus periculis, nec etiam "'humi jacentem erigere vellet.'"

Lib. ii., cap. ii., § 6, extr. 5.

Charles is crowned emperor [A.D. 800]. Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 172.

Porro quoniam circiter hos dies Karolus rex Francorum a Leone papa Romæ, excæcato et ab urbe ejecto, tandem tamen ad sedem suam per Karolum

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[1] *Bavonicum*] Bajoaricum, Eginh.; Bavaricum, Hug. Flor.

[2] *illatum*] exortum et celeriter consummatum. Sed et Sclavis bellum est illatum, Hug. Flor.

[3] *Suevis et Sclavis*] suevisos clauis, MS.; Dani vero et Suones Sclavis, Hug. Flor.

[4] *Burgares*] Chrumnum, ducem Bulgarorum, Hug. Flor.

revocato, qui primo Patricius factus fuerat, jam [in] Imperatorem et Augustum coronatus est et sublimatus, ad Francos et Germanos translato sic Romano feliciter imperio, Bizantii tyrannos, de cætero nomen et non omen imperii prætendentes, crebroque se invicem exoculantes, et ob ambitum dominandi nunc ferro nunc veneno sese passim et alternatim exstinguentes, et sic potius quam hæreditario jure principatum usurpantes, suæ tyrannidi de cætero relinquamus, et ad principum naturalium ac liberalium vitam et finem ostendendum, sicut antea præceptis, sic et nunc exemplis accedamus. Præmisimus tamen et hic notandum quod propter præscriptam imperii mutationem semper Græci, quanquam in se revera defectui et magis olim venenis quam viribus, magis arte quam marte, contendunt, Latinis invident et ipsos exosos habent, adeo quod ab ecclesiæ quoque Romanæ subjectione pariter et obedientia se subtraxerunt, donec diebus nostris per Latinos urbem et imperium occupantes ex parte reversi sunt ad subjectionem et revocati. Proinde et Romanis pontificibus imperatoribus Græcis scribentibus eosque ad obedientiam, ut solent, et ecclesiæ unitatem invitare volentibus, sic rescribere et respondere consueverant, "Subtraxistis "vos nobis, et nos subtrahimus nos vobis." Hatred of the Greeks for the Latins.

Hoc etiam adjecimus et notandum quod, quoniam, ut Boethius, reges insularum omnes tyranni sunt, ut propius exempla petantur, plures in insula Britannica et magis tyrannice nostris diebus principantes vel arcuum jaculis vel balistarum spiculis aut hostilibus etiam oppressionibus quam aliis modis interire. Juxta illud poetæ: Tyrants of Britain. Nota de insularibus tyrannis et Britannicis. Their violent deaths.

"Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci Juv., Sat. x. 112.
"Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni."
"Non invenere tyranni
"Majus tormentum." Hor., I. Epp. ii. 58.

Unde et illud Porphirii orientalis hæretici a Gilda introductum in Historia sua de Britonum excidio et hic apponendum. "Britannia," inquit, "occidentalis insula "fertilis est tyrannorum patria."[1] In Francia vero, quoniam mansuetiores et mitiores principes esse solebant, paucissimos vidimus aut etiam legimus nisi naturali solum et præclara morte finitos. Seriatim igitur a principibus electis et laude dignissimis, tam de Veteri Instrumento quam etiam Novo tractatum incipientes et exempla ponentes usque ad Francorum reges in imperium sublimatos ordine competenti singula prosequemur.

The milder princes of France die natural deaths.

f. 84.

Cap. XVIII.

De principum electorum tam vita laudabili quam fine.

Of the laudable life and end of good princes.

Quoniam de tyrannorum interitu hactenus disseruimus, nunc de regum electorum et principum benignorum ac liberalium vita pariter et fine laudabili per exempla disseremus, ut, sicut ex illis quæ vitanda fuerint et execranda, sic ex istis quæ imitanda fuerint [et] approbanda, evidenter appareat. Et primo de Israelitici populi et principibus Juda, a præcipuo quoque omnium, scilicet rege David, inchoantes, dum tamen de ducibus aliqua et maxime de tribus, Moyse[2] scilicet, Josue et Samuele præmittamus. . . .

Jewish kings, &c.

Here follow notices of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, Josaphat, and Solomon, chiefly quotations from the Vulgate.

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[1] *Britannia . . . . patria*] Britannia est fertilis provincia tyrannorum, Gildas, § 4 (ed. Stevenson, 1838, p. 13). The citation may have come immediately from St. Jerome, Ep. cxxxii., "adversus "Pelagium" (Migne, xxii. col. 1157).

[2] *Moyse*] Moyses, MS.

De Romanis imperatoribus, et primo de Octaviano.

. . . Nunc autem ab imperatoribus Romanis et a melioribus seriatim singulis exempla ponemus. Octavianus itaque Cæsar, et primus ab augendo rem publicam dictus Augustus, interfecto Julio Cæsare avunculo suo, post illum monarcha secundus, mitis erat princeps et mansuetus et tamen nullus eo Romanorum principum aut in bellis felicior fuit, aut in pace moderatior. Devicto enim Antonio, qui duodecim annis consors imperii fuerat, et monarchia jam reformata, cunctæ fere gentes, tam timore tantæ strenuitatis quam etiam favore liberalitatis ipsius ac benignitatis excitati, ad ejus se sponte dominium transtulerunt. Parthi quoque, tam incliti nominis fama provocati, licet jam se pares Romanorum magnitudini crederent, Romana signa quæ Crasso interfecto diripuerant ei ultro reddiderunt et obsidibus traditis firmum fœdus ab eo fideli supplicatione suscipere meruerunt, regni sui terminum Eufraten fluvium secundum fœdus Luculli et Pompeii consulum Romanorum quod dudum constituerant statuentes. Plus enim apud eos favore sui nominis fecit Augustus quam facere quisquam alius imperator armorum[1] robore potuisset. Ad hunc quoque Scithæ et Indi, Garamantes et Ethiopes legatos cum donis miserunt. Herodes quoque, rex Judaicæ gentis, Antonio et Cleopatra jam exstinctis, sponte ad eum navigavit, depositoque diademate se illi obtulit, humili quidem habitu sed regia mente, sicut in historiis tam Egesippi quam etiam Josephi. Quadraginta et tribus annis quibus solus gessit imperium civilissime vixit, in cunctos liberalissimus, in amicos fidelissimus, quos tantis evexerat honoribus ut pæne æquaret eos fastigio suo. Qui certe nunquam aut rei publicæ ad se traxisset potentiam tantam aut tam diu ea potiretur, nisi magnis naturæ et etiam industriæ bonis abundasset. De quo et a vulgo dictum est, "Utinam aut non nasceretur "aut non moreretur." Mortuus autem primus imperatorum divus appellatus est, sicut antea patriæ pater

f. 90. Roman emperors. Augustus. Hug. Flor., p. 36. f. 90 *b*. Nota. Cf. p. 51, above.

[1] *armorum*] annorum, MS.

et Augustus. Rem publicam beatissimam Tiberio successori reliquit, qui privignus ejus, mox gener, postremo adoptione filius fuerat. Octavianus autem primus principum Romanorum orbem publico fecit edicto[1] describi. His itaque diebus et Octaviani Augusti quadragesimo et secundo imperii anno, cum medium silentium tenerent omnia et tanta terrarum orbis pace gauderet quanta nec unquam antea visa fuerat nec post futura, Dominus noster Jesus Christus filius Dei natus est ex Maria virgine, quæ erat ex semine David, secundum fideles promissiones. Huic enim pax famulabatur in terra. Natus est autem octavo kalendas Januarii, cum primum incrementa omnia anni virentis incipiunt. In cujus ortu exultantes angeli cecinerunt, "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax "hominibus bonæ voluntatis." Florebant autem Augusto impera[n]te viri insignes, Virgilius, Sallustius, Terentius, Horatius, Livius et[2] Hortensius.[3] Porro Cæsar Augustus liberalibus studiis operam dabat, et erat ad recipiendas amicitias rarus, sed ad retinendum constantissimus. Fuit etiam mitis, gratus, civilis animi et limpidi,[4] corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis. Sed cum esset cibi ac vini abstinens, serviebat tamen libidini usque ad probrum vulgaris famæ. Abjecta quippe uxore Scribonia, aliæ[5] conjugis amore possessus, Liviam, quasi concedente marito, sibi conjunxit. Cui Liviæ e priore marito nati fuerant duo, Tiberius et Drusus; quorum Tiberium sibi successorem reliquit. Sed cum esset, sicut jam dictum est, libidini serviens, erat tamen ejusdem vitii severissimus ultor. Auxit[6] denique et exornavit Romam ædificiis multis, isto glorians dicto, "urbem meam repperi[7] "latericiam, relinquo marmoream." Imperavit autem annis l. et vi., xii. cum Antonio et xliiii. solus. Obiit autem naturali morte; decessit anno ætatis suæ lxxvij°.[8] Cujus etiam cineres simul cum cineribus Julii avunculi sui supra columnam quæ Julia dicitur reconditi fuisse feruntur.

Birth of Christ.

Hug. Flor., p. 39.

Hug. Flor., p. 42

f. 91.

[1] *edicto*] educto, MS.
[2] *Livius et*] et Livius, MS.
[3] *Hortensius*] Ortensis, MS.
[4] *limpidi*] lepidi, Hug. Flor.
[5] *aliæ*] alienæ, Hug. Flor.
[6] *Auxit*] Duxit, MS.
[7] *meam repperi*] suam repleri, MS.
[8] *lxxvij°*] lxvii°, MS.

Prætermissis autem Tiberio et Gaio Caligula tyrannice peremptis, sicut in priori ostensum est capitulo, de Claudio Cæsare dicemus. Caligulæ successit in imperium Claudius patruus ipsius et Drusi filius, qui etiam Britannicam transiens Orcadum insulas Romano adjecit imperio, Romamque rempublicam armis et animositate plurimum augmentavit. Claudius ergo cum plurima egisset egregia et tyrannica pauca, in fine tamen delirans persuasionibus uxoris suæ ordine præpostero generum filio præponens, Neronem sibi designavit successorem, postquam annis imperaverat xiiij. et mensibus viij. naturali tandem morte finitus.

Claudius. Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 49.

De Claudio Cæsare.

Prætermissis igitur tribus illis Galba, Othone et Vitellio tyrannorum more finitis, Vespasianus, in Judæa creatus imperator anno Incarnationis Dominicæ lxxi°, imperavit annis novem, mensibus xi., diebusque xx. duobus. Hic multis Judæorum oppidis captis,[1] audita morte Neronis, hortatu militum imperator effectus, reliquit Titum filium suum ad procurationem obsidionis Jerosolimorum, ut et Romanis non deesset nec Judæis, quem filius representaret. Magnis itaque prœliis et difficillimis expugnata Judæa urbeque desecrata Jerosolimitana et templo everso, sicut a Josepho et Egesippo eleganti stilo declaratur, denique Vespasianus et Titus imperatores magnificum et memorabile de Judæis agentes triumphum Romam ingressi sunt; continuoque omnibus bellis atque tumultibus domi forisque compressis pacem toto Romano regno pronuntiaverunt. Tunc etiam Achaia, Lycia,[2] Rhodus, Bizantium, Samus, Thracia, Cilicia cum aliis plurimis in provincias redactæ Romanis legibus paruerunt. A Vespasiano denique Romæ colossus[3] erigitur, habens centum et novem pedes proceritatis. Romam quoque incendiis deformem ædificiorum copia renovavit; nam Capitolium et ædem Pacis et Claudii monumenta reparavit. Itaque hunc Romana respublica, jam exsanguis tyrannorum sævitia, quasi

Vespasian. Hug. Flor., p. 55.

De Vespasiano.

Hug. Flor., p. 64.

f. 91 *b*.

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[1] *captis*] capitis, MS.

[2] *Lycia*] Lichia, MS.; Lydia, Hug. Flor.

[3] *colossus*] collisus, MS.

fato quodam, ne penitus rueret assecuta est. Verum anno vitæ suæ lxx. seriis jocosa, quibus delectabatur, admiscens interiit. Nam cum ventris eluvie fessus assurrexisset, "Stan-"tem," ait, "imperatorem excedere terris decet," sicque exanimatus est; cui successit Titus filius ejus. In Romana vero cathedra sancto Apostolo Petro Linus successit, et Lino Cletus.

Titus. Hug. Flor., p. 65.

De Tito per biennium terris ostenso.

Titus igitur, Vespasiani filius, patri succedens in regno, anno Incarnationis divinæ octogesimo primo, imperavit annis duobus et mensibus totidem. Hic fuit vir omnium genere virtutum mirabilis et morum imperialium pariter floribus adornatus, et qui nulli quicquam negaret. Hujus etiam fuit illud celebre dictum, quo ait se perdidisse diem, quo nil militibus suis largitus fuerat. Qui et tam [1] facundissimus exstitit, ut causas latino poemate peroraret et tragœdias græce componeret. In hujus præconia historici diversi memoratu digna multa conscribunt, unde et a quodam scribitur in hunc modum: "Erat itaque Titus vir omnium "virtutum genere mirabilis, adeo ut amor et deliciæ "humani generis diceretur; facundissimus, bellicosissi-"mus, moderatissimus. Causas latine egit, poemata et "tragœdias græce composuit. In oppugnatione Jeroso-"limorum sub patre militans xij. propugnatores xij. "sagittarum ictibus confixit. Romæ tantæ civilitatis "in imperio fuit, ut nullum omnino puniret. Con-"victos adversum se conjurationis dimisit, et in eadem "et familiaritate, qua ante, habuit. Facilitatis et "liberalitatis tantæ fuit, ut, cum nulli quicquam nega-"ret et ab amicis reprehenderetur, responderit [2] nullum "tristem debere ab imperatore discedere. Præterea "cum quadam die recordatus in cœna fuisset nulli se "illo die quicquam præstitisse, dixit amicis, 'Hodie "'diem perdidi.'" Unde tria dixisse legitur Titus egregie, primo "illum diem perdidi, in quo nihil "dedi"; secundum, neminem tristem ab imperatore discedere; tertium, se semel in vita fecisse quod pœni-

Eutropius, vii. 14.

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[1] *et tam*] in tantum, Hug. Flor. | [2] *responderit*] respondit, MS.

teat. "Hic Romæ amphitheatrum ædificavit et quin- "que milia ferarum in dedicatione ejus occidit. Per "hæc inusitato favore dilectus, morbo periit in ea, "qua pater, villa post biennium et menses octo et "dies viginti postquam imperator erat factus, ætatis "anno altero[1] et quadragesimo. Tantus luctus eo "mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tanquam in propria "doluerint[2] orbitate. Senatus, obitu ipsius circa ves- "peram nuntiato, nocte irrupit in curiam et tantas "ei mortuo laudes gratiasque concessit, quantas nec "vivo unquam egerat nec præsenti." De quo et metrice scriptum est: "Ostensus terris Titus est "brevitate bienni."

Eutrop., vii. 14.

f. 92.

Nerva.

De imperatore Nerva.

Nerva denique senex Domitiano exitiabili tyranno successit, Petronio præfecto fautore et Parthenio spadone, interfectore Domitiani, Incarnationis Christi anno nonagesimo octavo, imperavitque anno uno. Hic jurgiorum disceptator scientissimus et frequens fuit. Hic quoque primo suo edicto cunctos exules revocavit, quos Domitianus exulare compulerat; unde beatus Johannes Apostolus ab exilio tunc Ephesum rediit. Nerva vero afflictæ reipublicæ multum consuluit, dum Trajanum virum strenuum et sapientissimum sibi in filium, antequam moreretur, adoptavit.

Hug. Flor., p. 69.

De Johanne evangelista ab exilio revocato.

Hug. Flor., p. 70.

Trajan.

De imperatore Trajano.[3]

Trajanus igitur, genere Hispanus, Romanum imperium Nerva tradente suscipiens anno divinæ Incarnationis xc. nono,[4] imperavit annis x. et ix. et mensibus vi.[5] Hic apud Agrippinam Galliæ urbem insignia imperii suscepit; moxque Germaniam trans Renum sibi subegit et trans Danubium gentes multas superavit. Barbaras etiam nationes trans Eufraten et Tygrim sitas redegit in provincias. Denique Seleuciam[6] et Babiloniam occupavit, et usque ad Indiæ fines post magnum Alexandrum accessit. Hic etiam fuit liberalis in amicos, habens in re militari

[1] *altero*] Eutrop.; om. MS.
[2] *doluerint*] doluerunt, MS.
[3] *Trajano*] tyranno, MS.
[4] *xc. nono*] xx. nono, MS.
[5] *vi.*] Hug. Flor.; om. MS.
[6] *Seleuciam*] Hug. Flor.; Sueleticam, MS.

The third persecution of the Christians. diligentiam, in civilibus[1] lenitatem, et in sublevandis civitatibus largitionem. Eratque ei domi sanctitas, in armis fortitudo, et utrobique prudentia. Denique prostrato et debilitato statu Romano, tanquam in remedium malorum credebatur divinitus datus. Trajani cum[2] tempore tertius in Christianos persecutionis impetus ebullivit. Unde Clemens Papa Romanus in mare præcipitatus est, ubi in templo sibi divinitus præparato manibus angelicis requievit. Symon quoque filius Cleopæ, Christi discipulus, Jerosolimorum Episcopus, crucifixus est pro nomine Christi. Ignatius etiam, Antiochenus Episcopus, Romam adductus et bestiis traditus, suscepit martyrium. Sed et Alexander Papa Romanus martyrio coronatus est, et plures per alias circumquaque Christiani provincias. Verumtamen persecutione fervente, Plinius Secundus orator et historiographus, qui inter cæteros judices præsidatum[3] administrabat, multitudine peremptorum commotus, scripsit imperatori, Christianos præter[4] confessionem Christi et honesta conventicula nihil contrarium Romanis legibus facere; moxque Dei nutu rescriptis levioribus Cæsar temperaverat edictum. Cautæque vir pietatis
Nota. erat et mansuetudinis, ut de eo legatur quod, cum in
f. 92 b. expeditionem properaret, paupercula mulier quædam obvians ei rogavit, ut de prædiolo quodam sibi sublato ei justitiam exhiberet. Qui cum id usque ad reditum suum differret, et illa e contra, "Quid si non "redieris?", substitit ille statim nec a loco, donec satisfactum ei fuisset, recedere voluit. De hoc scripsit
xii. 6 11. Martialis Cocus et ei, cujus scilicet in obsequiis fertur fuisse:

"Laudari[5] debes, quoniam sub principe duro
"Temporibusque malis ausus es esse bonus."

Militabat enim tunc temporis Trajanus sub Domitiano.[6]

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[1] *civilibus*] Hug. Flor.; civibus, MS.

[2] *cum*] so MS.; præterea, Hug. Flor.

[3] *præsidatum*] præsulatum, Hug. Flor.

[4] *præter*] propter, MS.

[5] *Laudari*] The line properly runs "Nunc licet et fas est; sed "tu sub principe duro"; and the epigram refers to Nerva.

[6] *Domitiano*] Diocliciano, MS.

Proinde quod contingit his nostris diebus occasionaliter hic apponere præter rem non putavi. Beatus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Thomas agens in exilio, cum apud Pontiniacum moram faceret, lectioni pariter intendens et orationi, cum moris haberet, ut fatigatus a studio per singulos clericos suos singula loca studii causa tenentes deambularet, quærendo a singulis quod elegans dictum tunc invenisset, veniens ad Alexandrum Valensem, Bangoriensem Archidiaconum,[1] qui in ejus obsequiis tunc fuerat, quæsivit in quo libro studeret, et cum ille Martialem Cocum tunc forte præ manibus et oculis haberet, dixit beatus Thomas, quoniam talem virum talis liber decebat. Erat enim ille vir jocularis et linguæ dicacis. Qui statim respondit, quod liber ille dignus erat qui ab ipso transcriberetur; et si non propter aliud, propter versus duos quos in adventu viri sancti, quasi prognostico quodam, tunc legebat præscriptos, scilicet qui fortunæ martyris expresse conveniebant. Propter quod his auditis et librum a manibus ejus statim assumens, ipsum transcribi fecit. Hos quoque versus ibidem invenies[2]:

Anecdote of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Nota de beato Thoma.

"Di mihi dent, et tu, quæ tu, Trajane, mereris.
"Di mihi dent, et tu, quæ volo, si merui."

Cf. Mart. x. 34.

Inter alia quoque Trajani dicta, hoc ipsius[3] fertur egregium. Amicis enim culpantibus eum quod nimium circa omnes communis esset et liberalis, respondit talem se[4] imperatorem esse velle privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset. Post ingentem igitur gloriam bello domique quæsitam, e Perside rediens apud Seleuciam Isauriæ[5] profluvio ventris

Saying of Trajan. Eutrop., viii. 2.

His death.

[1] The Alexander "lingua paterna "vocatus Cuelin" of whom there is a notice in Herbert of Boseham's "Vita S. Thomæ" (*Materials for the Hist. of T. Becket*, iii. p. 528; cf. *ibid.*, p. 56).

[2] *invenies*] iuuenes, MS.

[3] *ipsius*] impius, MS.

[4] *se*] se esse, MS.

[5] *Isauriæ*] Isauris, MS.

exstinctus est. Solus omnium intra urbem sepultus est; ossa collata in urnam auream in foro quod ædificavit sub columna posita sunt, cujus altitudo cxliiij^or^ pedes habet. Hujus in tantum memoriæ delatum est, ut[1] usque ad nostram ætatem non aliter in senatu principibus acclametur nisi, "Felicior Augusto,[2] melior "Trajano." Adeo namque in eo gloria bonitatis obtinuit, ut vel assentantibus vel vere laudantibus occasionem magnificentissimi præstet exempli.

Nota de laude Trajani.

Hadrian. Hug. Flor., p. 71.

De Ælio Hadriano. f. 93.

Trajano successit Ælius Hadrianus[3] consobrinæ ipsius filius, bono quidem bonus et a bonitate sibi innata non degenerans. Hic fuit Græcis litteris impensius eruditus, et non sermone tantum peritus, sed et cæteris disciplinis, canendi, medendi scientia pollens. Erat etiam musicus, geometricus, pictor, fictorque ex ære vel marmore, atque facetus, acer nimis ad lacessendum et ad respondendum seriis,[4] joco, maledictis.[5] Sic enim referebat carmen carmini, dictum dictui,[6] ut prorsus dicas ad omnia præmeditatum. Hic etiam per Quadratum discipulum Apostolorum et Aristidem Atheniensem virum sapientem instructus et eruditus, præcepit per epistolam ad Minutium[7] Fundanum proconsulem Asiæ datam, ut nemini liceret Christianum sine objectu criminis aut probatione damnare. Hic etiam bellum contra Sauromatas gessit et vicit. Judæos denique perturbatione scelerum suorum exagitatos provinciam quondam suam Palæstinam depopulantes ultima cæde perdomuit, et Jerosolimam reædificavit et illam Æliam suo de nomine appellavit. Cujus opera quidem et opere factum est ut loca, id est Dominicæ passionis et resurrectionis, quondam extra urbem jacentia, nunc ejusdem urbis muro septemtrionali circumdentur. Denique præcepit ne cui Judæo introeundi Jerosolimam esset licentia, Christianis tantum civitate concessa et permissa. Porro vixit

Rebuilds Jerusalem, and names it Ælia.

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[1] *ut*] et, MS.
[2] *Augusto*] Augustus, MS.
[3] *Ælius Hadrianus*] Helius Adrianus, MS., and so below.
[4] *seriis*] serus, MS.
[5] *maledictis*] maledicus, MS.
[6] *dictui*] dicturi, MS.
[7] *Minutium*] uuicium, MS.

Ælius Hadrianus Augustus annis lx. duobus,[1] et deinde naturali nece decessit, cum regnasset annis xx. et j.

De Antonio Pio.

Ælio Hadriano successit in imperium Antonius Pius, bono adhuc bonus vir, scilicet peritissimus et natura benignus, qui imperavit annis xx. et non plenis mensibus[2] tribus. Iste ab Hadriano in filium fuerat adoptatus, cujus gener erat. Huic autem Justinus philosophus librum de Christiana Religione compositum tradidit, et benignum illum erga Christianos reddidit. Porro Antonius Augustus ita tranquillus exstitit, ut merito Pius appellatus sit. Nam ad illum exteræ gentes legatos misere, Indi,[3] id est Bactriani, et Hircani, justitia tanti imperatoris comperta; erat enim carens appetentia gloriæ et ostentatione. Decessit autem imperii sui anno vicesimo tertio, ob cujus honorem templa, sacerdotes atque alia multa bonorum insignia Romæ a senatoribus sunt decreta.

Antoninus Pius. Hug. Flor., p. 72.

Nota.

De Constantio.

Constantius igitur Augustus mitius et mansuetius agens cultores Christi venerationi habebat et honori, intelligens in idolis veri numinis nullam consistere majestatem. Unde gratia Dei matura prædictorum subsecuta est perditio tyrannorum, et regnum Constantini filii ejus usque ad oceanum dilatandum[4] feliciter crevit. Constantius denique strenuissimus imperator anno imperii sui xv. Eboraci deficiens ordinavit Licinium Cæsarem Hispaniarum et Constantinum filium suum Cæsarem Galliarum. Constantinus igitur Magnus, Constantii moderatissimi et egregii principis filius, in Britannia Dei nutu imperator constitutus, imperavit annis xxxii. In orientis autem partibus regnabat Maximianus Galerius; Romæ vero a Prætorianis militibus Maxentius, Maximiani Herculei filius, imperator erat institutus. Sed Constantinus Magnus, mox ut apicem regni ex paterna hæreditate suscepit, mira Dei gratia exercitui acceptus et viris fortibus imitandus, facinorosis vero et ignavis terribilis fuit. Maxentius vero in tanta flagitiorum et scelerum fæce et in tanto impuritatis cœno versabatur, ut nihil facinorum pessimorum ab ejus vita vel actibus esset

Constantius. Hug. Flor., p. 88.

f. 93 *b*.

De Constantino.

Constantine the Great. Hug. Flor., p. 91.

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[1] *lx. duobus*] lxx. duobus, MS.

[2] *mensibus*] so MS.; annis xx. et iii. non plenis, Hug. Flor.

[3] *Indi, id est Bactriani*] Iudii, id est Baldriani, MS.

[4] *dilatandum*] dilatatum, Hug. Flor.

alienum. Igitur cum jam septimum annum in imperio suo Hug. Flor., p. 92. perageret, Constantinus adversus Maxentium talibus, ut diximus, præditum moribus, nondum baptizatus, conspirante secum collega Licinio, bellum paravit. Et cum eo pergeret et multa secum de imminentis belli necessitate proximus pugnæ pertractaret, vidit per soporem in cœlo signum sanctæ Crucis[1] flammeo nitore rutilare, et angelos sibi assistentes et dicentes, "Constantine, thoythanaka,"[2] id est, "in hoc "vinces"; et statim evigilans signum quod viderat in vexilla depingi fecit militaria, et ita instructus et armatus cum magna spe victoriæ iter adversus Maxentium dimicaturus acceleravit. Sed, Maxentio divinitus exstincto et flumine submerso, dum virtute signi salutiferi in laqueum corruit et decipulam falsi tabulatus quam ipse paraverat, Constantinus urbem Romam triumphans ingreditur. Et statim ut imagines ad honorem triumphi illius ei senatus erexit, sanctæ Crucis signum in dextera manu earum fecit depingi et subter ascribi hoc esse signum invincibile Dei Vivi. Post hæc Maximino[3] orientis tyranno ex morbi violentia quem incurrerat primum luminibus privato et postmodum rebus humanis exempto, Constantinus Romæ positus valida squaloris lepra perfunditur. Sed postquam spreto senatorum consilio, qui balneum ei in sanguine innocentium parari suaserant, monitus in somno Silvestrum papam, latitantem in monte Soracti,[4] ad se accersiri fecit et ab ipso baptizari meruit et incontinenti a morbo curari. Qui statim egressus a baptisterio sacroque crismate perunctus et sigillo sanctæ crucis est signatus. Postquam se sanum ex toto conspexit, publico præcepit edicto, ut per totum Romanum imperium templa clauderentur et ecclesiæ ædificarentur. Ipse etiam construxit Deo et sancto Johanni Baptistæ ecclesiam intra palatium Lateranense, quam voluit esse caput et verticem omnium ecclesiarum; in qua baptisterium consecravit ex lapide porphyritico, exornans illud intus argento purissimo, posuitque medio ejus columnam,

Margin notes: De signo Crucis Constantino apparente. — Nota. — He is baptized by pope Sylvester. Hug. Flor., p. 93. — f. 94.

[1] *Crucis*] om. MS.

[2] *thoythanaka*] *i.e.*, *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*; om. Hug. Flor.

[3] *Maximino*] Maxentio, MS.; Maximiano, Hug. Flor.

[4] *Soracti*] se rapti, MS.

quæ gerebat phialam auream, ubi ardebat die ac nocte balsamum probatissimum. Ædificavit quoque alteram in eadem urbe basilicam exquisito decore sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo, ubi eorundem apostolorum corpora recondidit. Denique incredibile est memoratu quam brevi ejus studio sancta late per totum orbem creverit ecclesia et quanta cura erga[1] sumptum ædificandarum ecclesiarum fuerit ardens. Nam cum edicto publico ædificarentur ecclesiæ per totum ejus imperium, ipse ad hoc peragendum ex regiis thesauris pecunias affluentissime conferebat. Scribebat in[super] singulis civitatibus regni sui, ut populus episcopis ministraret de regali fisco, unde sanctæ perficerentur ecclesiæ; fide quippe Dei ejus animus æstuabat et benignum ejus ingenium atque clemens bonis operibus pascebatur. Demum autem Licinio, quem et consortem imperii fecerat[2] eique sororem suam Constantiam in matrimonium dederat, ad discidium per invidiam provocato, bellico conflictu apud Bithyniam superato et apud[3] Thessalonicam decapitato, Constantinus mira felicitate bellorum, divina nimirum gratia propitiante, Romani imperii soliditatem solus obtinuit. Tunc ergo Dei gratiam amplius de die in diem recognoscens urbem Romam cum palatio suo, quod Lateranense[4] dicitur, contulit Apostolis Christi Petro et Paulo et sancto papæ Silvestro, cum urbibus et castris per Italiam multis, imperiali sede Byzantium cum nobilioribus Romanorum fere cunctis translata, quam quidem urbem ecclesiis egregiis, palatiis, felici quoque suo nomine decoravit. Sic itaque primum ecclesia regalibus munificentiis dotari cœpit et ditari, plus inde sæcularis adepta sollicitudinis et subjectionis quam spiritualis beatitudinis vel tranquillæ devotionis; plus, inquam, exterioris assecuta per hoc pompositatis quam interioris, ut creditur, felicitatis. Proinde et antiquus hostis, facta largitione prædicta, sic in audientia publica legitur vocaliter pronunciasse, "Hodie ecclesiæ venenum in-

Hug. Flor. p. 94.

De laudibus Constantini.

His donation to pope Sylvester, and its effect on the church. Hug. Flor., p. 95.

Nota.

Nota.

[1] *erga*] Hug. Flor.; om. MS.
[2] *fecerat*] fecerit, MS.
[3] *apud*] esse, MS.
[4] *Lateranense*] Laterense, MS.

Nota. "fudi." Unde Jeronimus in Vitis[1] Patrum, "Eccle-"sia ex quo crevit possessionibus, decrevit virtutibus, "de vitiis nimirum et divitiis simul incrementa su-"mendo." Denique Constantinus Augustus, omni f. 94 b. tyrannica dominatione sublata et ecclesia Christi magnifice per orbem exaltata et dilatata, rebus humanis exemptus est felici fine defunctus.

Persecutions of the church by heretics. Hactenus persecutiones quas viri ecclesiastici a tyrannis perpessi sunt, sed gentilibus, præmisso capitulo[2] explicare curavimus. Nunc autem illas quas longe graviores a Christianis, sed hæreticis, propalabimus, præmisso tamen hoc tantillo quod semper hæretici et hæresiarchæ, suggerente humani generis hoste maligno, hac ad decipiendum et pervertendum usi sunt arte, quod in primis principes inficiendo ipsosque pariter et eorum secretarios sibique familiarius assistentes corrumpebant, quibus allectis cæteros facilius aut majorum exemplis (quoniam "regis ad "exemplum") aut tyrannicis oppressionibus et violentiis inclinarent. Constantii vero, Constantini Magni filii, et Juliani Apostatæ cognati sui diebus hæreses Arianism. pullulare cœperunt et Ariana præcipue, quæ gradus in Personis faciendo majoritatem eis et minoritatem dogmatizando multos suo veneno inficiebat. Sed his ambobus, de quibus suo in loco tractavimus, suæ relictis perditioni, ad Jovianum et Valentinianum, copulam scilicet feliciorem, nunc accedamus.

Jovian. Hug. Flor., p. 102. De Joviano. Jovianus[3] autem post Juliani necem soliditatem[4] Romani imperii consecutus, imperavit mensibus octo; qui erat vir fortis et nobilis, et illo tempore Millenarius, quo Julianus electioni militibus suis lege data proposuit, ut aut sacrificarent aut militiæ cederent. Qui magis elegit cingulum amittere quam impiissimi terreni imperatoris præceptionibus obedire. Hunc

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[1] *Vitis*] vitas, MS. See the "Vita Malchi," § 1 (Migne, xxiii. col. 53), but the quotation is not exact.

[2] *capitulo*] capitule, MS.

[3] *Jovianus*] Jovinianus, MS., and so throughout.

[4] *soliditatem*] soliditati, MS.

tamen Julianus ad bellum proficiscens propter belli necessitatem inter viros militares habebat. Qui, cum violenter post Juliani necem a militibus ad imperium traheretur, dixit se nolle paganis hominibus imperare, cum ipse Christianus existeret; cumque vox omnium ei communiter proclamasset, dicentium se quoque Christianos esse, suscepit imperium. Factus igitur imperator Jovianus cogitabat de communi salute et quomodo posset de medio hostium exercitum illæsum educere; sed cum locorum iniquitate captus et hostibus circumseptus nullam evadendi facilitatem prospiceret, pepigit fœdus cum Sapore [1] Persarum rege et Nisibim [2] oppidum partemque superioris Mesopotamiæ ei concessit. Moxque Persarum rex forum venalium illi in deserto præparari fecit. Et ita Jovianus de medio hostium Romanum illæsum eduxit exercitum. Verum, cum ad Illyricum per Galatiam remearet, in quoddam cubiculum novum sese recepit, ubi calore prunarum et nidore [3] parietum nuper f. 95. calce illitorum prægravatus et suffocatus, octavo demum mense quam [4] imperare ceperat, finivit vitam, [et tam] pia tamque læta principia mors immatura corripuit.

Valentinianus denique Magnus, qui et ipse, sicut capi- Valentinian. tulo præcedente præmisimus, pro fide Catholica ab Hug. Flor., p. 102. impiissimo Juliano militia privatus fuerat, Joviano defuncto apud urbem Nicæam, Romanorum consensu militum adeptus imperium divinæ Incarnationis trecentesimo lxiv.[5] anno, imperavit annis undecim. Iste non tantummodo fortitudine, sed et prudentia, temperantia atque justitia et corporis magnitudine præfulgebat. Sic [6] etiam regalis pariter et urbanus perhibetur exstitisse et,[7] dum ei exercitus temptaret alium dare consortem, "Vestrum," inquit, "O "milites, fuit mihi dare regimen imperii; verum hoc ubi "ego suscepi, meum jam et non vestrum est de rebus "cogitare communibus." Et mox fratrem suum Valentem sibi in consortium regni assumpsit, et sibi quidem occiduas retinuit, fratri vero suo orientales partes regendas concessit. Verumtamen iste Valens [8] suæ conjugis, quæ [9] Arriana

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[1] *Sapore*] Saporo, MS.
[2] *Nisibim*] Nibesim, MS.
[3] *nidore*] Hug. Flor.; nitorem, MS.
[4] *quam*] Hug. Flor.; que, MS.
[5] *lxiv.*] lxvi., MS.
[6] *Sic*] Sed, Hug. Flor.
[7] *et*] Hug. Flor.; ut, MS.
[8] *Valens*] Vales, MS.
[9] *quæ*] qui, MS.

fuerat, alloquio seductus est et illaqueatus, cum esset ante Catholicus. Porro Valentinianus cum ad Italiam descenderet, Auxentius[1] Episcopus Arriani dogmatis assertor, qui Mediolanensem diu tenuerat præsulatum, jam sero nimis defunctus est. Tunc evocans episcopos imperator suffraganeos præcepit, ut sibi prælatum secundum Deum eligerent. Super quo, dum episcopi cum clero tractarent, cives, ut moris est, et accolæ tumultum faciebant, alii hunc atque alii illum ordinari petentes. Cumque

St. Ambrose. inter Catholicos et Arrianos orta esset seditio, Ambrosius adhuc Catechuminus, ut consularis ejusdem provinciæ,

Hug. Flor., p. 104. ad eos refrenandos pro loco et officio suo inter eos advenit et, dum plebem alloqueretur secundum legem et publicam disciplinam, subito vox infantis insonuit "Ambrosium Episcopum." Ad cujus vocis sonitum totius populi ora conversa sunt acclamantis "Ambrosium Episcopum." Valentinianus autem Augustus feliciter regens imperium undecimo regni sui anno, vitæ vero quinquagesimo quarto, demum[2] apud Brigitionem oppidum defunctus est. Quo vita privato, milites Italiæ assumentes ejus filium Valentinianum admodum tenerrimum [ad imperium provexerunt], præmisso adhuc fratre suo Gratiano superstite necnon et Valente eorum patruo.

De voce ad Ambrosium eligendum cœlitus emissa.

Gratian.

Hug. Flor., p. 110.

De Gratiano.

Gratianus itaque Valentiniani filius, tyranno Valente defuncto, de quo supra diximus, imperavit cum juniore fratre suo Valentiniano annis

f. 95 b. sex. Iste fuit vir fide Catholicus, modestus et admodum litteratus, parcus quoque cibi ac vini, et libidinis victor. Hic autem virum strenuum et nominatissimum Theodosium ad se vocatum consortem fecit imperii.

Theodosius.

De Theodosio.

Theodosius, mox ut factus est imperator, subactis barbarorum gentibus in oriente, Thraciam ab omni bellorum strepitu liberavit; sed et Gratianus Hunos et Gothos magnis prœliis superavit et urbem Constantinopolim victor intravit, et Gothorum regem Athalaricum[3] sibi firmo fœdere colligavit. In Italia vero Probus[4]

Hug. Flor., p. 111.

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[1] *Auxentius*] Hug. Flor., rightly; Maxentius, MS.

[2] *demum*] demum autem, MS.

[3] *Athalaricum*] Athanricum, Hug. Flor., correctly.

[4] *Probus*] probet, MS.

præfectus sub imperatore Valentiniano publicarum rerum curam gerebat.[1] Iterum[2] autem in Britannia tyrannidem arripuit Maximus, vir quidem strenuus et imperio dignus, nisi contra rempublicam conspirasset. Igitur Maximus a Britannia prodiens in Gallias venit, ubi, ab offensis Gratiano legionibus exceptus, Gratianum infestare cœpit. Porro Maximus habebat ducem exercitus sui Andagratum[4] virum subdolum et factiosum,[5] qui Gratianum uxori suæ occurrentem et minus sibi præcaventem subito et improviso interemit. Mortuus est Gratianus anno imperii sui quintodecimo, vitæ vero suæ vicesimo quarto. At[6] Valentinianus fratris nece atque hostis metu perterritus fugit in Illyricum, dicens quod matris merito hoc malum, quia Arriana erat, sustineret.

Maximus, tyrant of Britain.

De Maximo Britanniæ tyranno.[3]

Death of Gratian.

De morte Gratiani.

Theodosius vero imperator hoc audiens non inmemor beneficiorum Gratiani in vindictam ejus totius Orientis viribus insurrexit. Sed interfecto primum facillime apud Apuleiam Maximo tyrannorum fortissimo, et postmodum Eugenio pariter et Arbogaste tyrannis[7] nequissimis solo similiter divino præsidio signique virtute salutiferi triumphatis et peremptis, Gratiano defuncto, qui regnaverat annis quindecim, per sex annos feliciter rexit in imperium. Propter has autem et alias victorias ejus insignes et crebras tanquam divinitus datas poeta quidam in laudem ipsius hos inter cætera versiculos scripsit:

Theodosius.

De laudibus Theodosii.

"O nimium dilecte Dei, tibi militat æther
"Et conjurati veniunt [ad] classica venti."

Claud., iii. cons. Honor. 96-98.

Fertur etiam parentes ejus per somnum monitos hoc ei nomen imposuisse, quod latine expositum "Deo "datus" intelligi potest. Duo vero notabilia quæ de hoc principe referunt historiæ hic perstringi præterrem non putavi. De strage quinque milium de po-

His vengeance against the citizens of Thessalonica.

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[1] *gerebat*] gerebant, MS.
[2] *Iterum*] Eterum, MS.
[3] *tyranno*] tyrannorum, MS.
[4] *Andagratum*] Andragathium, Hug. Flor., correctly.
[5] *factiosum*] factitiosum, MS.
[6] *At*] ac, MS.
[7] *tyrannis*] tyrannus, MS.

Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 113.

pulo, tanquam ad ludos Circenses per imperatorem convocato, apud Thessalonicam facta in ultionem quorundam de ordine militari ibidem paulo ante interemptorum; propter quod Ambrosius imperatorem excommunicavit et ab ingressu ecclesiæ usque ad pœnitentiam humiliter acceptam et satisfactionem subsecutam ipsum arctavit. Ubi et inter cætera, Ambrosio compellente, legem statuit ut sententiæ animadversione datæ per xxx. dies executio differatur, ut interim et ira sedari possit et justæ pœnitudinis tempus exspectari. Item et a quodam philosopho quandoque correptus patienter obtemperavit; qui, cum vidisset eum iracundiæ stimulis de facili commoveri, monuit ut, ubi irasci cœpisset, xx. et iiij. litteras Græcas memoria recenseret, quatinus illa animi concitatio mobilis et momentanea parumper alio traducta languescere possit. Item et de correptione, postquam eundem imperatorem idem antistes Ambrosius a presbiterio removit, ubi post oblationem factam, sicut Constantinopoli facere consueverat, stare præsumpsit, et hic inserendum, quatinus et hoc exemplo, quanta fuerit et imperatoris hujus et apud homines mansuetudo et apud eum devotio, monstrari possit. Hanc enim emendationem ipse animo suscipiens et patienti respondit dicens, "Non audaciæ causa intra cancellos mansi, sed in "Constantinopolitana urbe hanc consuetudinem esse "cognovi. Sed ago gratias pro hujusmodi medicina." Tali ergo tantaque et præsul et imperator virtute clarebant; etenim prodest increpatio a viro virtutis prolata. Uxor quoque Theodosii nomine Placella non minore virtute prædita adeo in caritatis operibus incomparabiliter perflua fuit, ut pauperum habitacula et ecclesiarum xenodochia circuire et inopes reficere propriisque manibus non solum panem eis frangere et calices

f. 96.

Law deferring the execution of sentences for thirty days.

De xxx. dierum judiciis executioni datis.

De xxiiij. litteris Græcis memoriter recensendis.

Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 115.

Theodosius forbidden by Ambrose to sit in the chancel.

De imperatore a presbiterio remoto.

Virtues of the empress Placella.

Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 116.

De laudibus imperatricis Placellæ.

propinare, sed etiam ollas extergere et ciphos diluere consueverat. O felix copula, ubi de benignitate pariter et humilitate variisque virtutum charismatibus laudabili æmulatione contendere sexus cum sexu videbatur!

Theodosius extirpates paganism. Hug. Flor., p. 116.

Denique fidelissimus imperator Constantinus, qui primus pietate morum et fide Christiana dilatata per orbem ornavit imperium, sacrificare dæmonibus interdixit, non tamen eorum templa evertit, sed inaccessibilia esse præcepit; cujus filii paterna vestigia sunt secuti. Julianus autem eis succedens impietatem renovavit et flammam veteris impietatis reaccendit. Jovianus[1] vero, interempto Juliano imperium assecutus, rursus immolationes prohibuit idolorum. Valens denique omnibus imperii Romani gentibus concessit, ut religiones suas colerent sicut vellent, solummodo illos impugnans, qui Arriana dogmata non suscipiebant. Itaque usque ad tempora hujus magni Theodosii et ad idolorum aras ignis incendebatur et libamina atque sacrificia offerebantur; sed et publicas festivitates populi per plateas agebant et orgia Dionysii et Bacchi celebrabant et cum sacris[2] currebant, f. 96 b. canes eviscerantes, et furentes atque debacchantes. Prorsus agebant omnia quæ nequitia vel erroris antiqui vel furoris proprii insinuabat. Sed hæc omnia Theodosius Catholicus imperator exstirpari radicitus imperavit et evulsit, corripuit et condemnavit. Floruit his diebus Jeronimus, Romanæ presbiter ecclesiæ et magnificus divinæ legis interpres, qui quantus fuerit et in tribus linguis, Latina, Græca et Hebraica quam eruditus, et quam utile Christi[3] fuerit instrumentum, satis est notum.

De sacrificiis dæmonum per Theodosium exstirpatis.

Jerome. Cf. Hug. Flor., p. 117.

Floruit et eisdem diebus Didimus Alexandrinus, oculis non animo cæcus; antequam enim litterarum prima didicisset elementa, luminibus orbatus est. Sed, cum audisset scriptum in Evangelio illud, "Quod impossibile est apud "homines, possibile est apud Deum," indesinenter precabatur, non ut oculorum carnalium visum, sed ut mentis illu-

Didymus of Alexandria. Hug. Flor., p. 117.

De Didumo cæco et tamen litteratissimo.

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[1] *Jovianus*] Jovinianus, MS.

[2] *sacris*] scutis, Hug. Flor.

[3] *utile Christi*] vti lex[i], MS. The words are not in Hug. Flor., whose notice of Jerome is abridged.

minationem perciperet, quod est assecutus. In tantam enim gratiam tantamque divinarum humanarumque rerum postmodum pervenit scientiam, ut et septem artium quas liberales vocant notitia perfectissime frueretur et magnificus doctor ecclesiæ fieri mereretur.

Nota bene.

Maximus drains Britain of troops. Hug. Flor., p. 118.

Britain invaded by the Picts and Scots.

Circiter autem hæc eadem tempora et paulo ante Maximus tyrannus, cujus ante meminimus, Britannicam insulam armata juventute militaribusque copiis, in Galliam transiens, exspoliaverat, quas bello Theodosius Augustus cum [1] Valentiniano juniore deleverat. Unde gentes vicinæ, Scotorum videlicet atque Pictorum, destitutam defensoribus insulam invaserunt et contra Britones invalescentes annis eos multis miserabiliter oppresserunt.

Death and character of Theodosius.

De morte Theodosii et laudibus ejusdem.

Porro Theodosius Augustus, vir Deo dilectus, demum ægritudinem incurrens vitam temporalem apud Mediolanum naturali morte terminavit, anno imperii sui sextodecimo, vitæ vero suæ sexagesimo. Theodosius iste, patre Honorio natus et originem a Trajano principe trahens ejusque bonitatem magno opere sequens, ab ipso quoque nec morum ornamentis nec corporis degenerans lineamentis, fuit vir clemens animo et ita amicis communis, ut solo habitu differre se ab eis putaret. Præterea fuit in omnes homines munificus sed effusus [2] in bonos; simplicia ingenia diligere, erudita mirari, largiri magno animo magna et irasci rebus indignis, sed flecti cito. Hic etiam consobrinarum nuptias abhorruit, tanquam sororum. Hujus denique corpus Constantinopolim est translatum atque honorifice tumulatum.

Origin of the Picts and Scots.

Unde Picti et Scoti in Britanniam advecti et quare sic dicti.

Quoniam autem de Pictis et Scotis facta est hic mentio, quæ gentes et quibus ex partibus, quibusve de causis in Britanniam advectæ sunt, sicut ex diversis collegimus historiis, hic explanandum præter rem non putavimus. Pictos itaque, quos et Agatirsos Virgilius [3] vocat, Scithicas circiter paludes habitationes

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[1] *Augustus cum*] Augustum, MS.

[2] *effusus*] effusius, Hug. Flor.

[3] Most of the matter from this point down to "sunt effecti" is quoted from Giraldus by Higden, i. 58 (vol. ii. pp. 146, 150).

habuisse referunt historiæ. De quibus et Servius super Virgilium commentans et hunc locum exponens, scilicet "Pictos Agatirsos,"[1] ait, "Pictos eosdem quos f. 97. "et Agatirsos appellamus, et dicuntur Picti quasi "stigmatizati, quia stigmatizari, id est cauteriari, so- "lent propter abundantiam fleumatis. Et sunt hi "populi iidem qui et Gothi. Quoniam, utique ubi ex "crebris stigmatibus cicatrices obducuntur, corpora "quasi picta redduntur, ex cauteriis hujusmodi in "cicatrices obductis Picti quoque sunt vocati."

The Picts established in Britain by Gratian and Valentinian.

Cum ergo Maximus ille tyrannus de Britannia in Franciam, cum robore virorum ac virium necnon et armorum insulæ toto, ad occupandum imperium transvectus fuisset, Gratianus et Valentinianus fratres et consortes imperii gentem hanc Gothicam, rebus in bellicis fortem ac strenuam, sibi quoque vel confœderatam vel subjectam, et imperialibus tam beneficiis, a Scithiæ finibus in aquilonares Britanniæ partes ad Britones infestandum et tyrannum cum juventute regni tota, quam abduxerat non redituram, sic revocandum, navigio transmiserunt. Illi vero, tum quoniam innata Gothorum bellicositate pervalidi fuerunt, tum etiam quoniam insulam viris ac viribus, ut diximus, vacuam invenerunt, boreales ejusdem partes ac provincias non modicas ad sua non reversuri, quippe de prædonibus demum[2] accolæ facti, usurpatas occuparunt.

They unite with the Scots from Ireland.

Processu[3] vero temporis, quoniam uxores de Hibernia sibi vicina duxerant, quas a Britonibus habere non poterant, gentem Hibernicam, quæ et Scotia dicitur, sibi in consortium allexerunt; partemque terræ occupatæ maritimam suæque patriæ, ubi mare angustum, proximiorem, quæ et Galweidia dicitur, ad habitandum contulerunt. Ubi et unanimes postmodum

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[1] *Agatirsos*] Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi, Æn., iv. 146. Nothing like what follows is to be found in Servius.

[2] *demum*] domum, MS.

[3] *Processu*] Processum, MS.

ad[1] Britones infestandum et fines suos dilatandum sunt effecti. De quibus et Gildas historicus de excidio Britonum tractans ait: "Exinde Britannia, omni armato milite destituta atque valida juventute regni spoliata, quæ supradictum tyrannum comitata domum nunquam ultra rediit, jam omnis belli usu prorsus ignara, duabus primum gentibus vehementer sævis, Pictorum ab aquilone, Scotorum a circione, opprimi cœpit et calcari."[2]

Gildas, § 14. Beda, i. 12.

The Roman legions leave Britain.

Iterumque post pauca vexatis ad gemitum Britonum legionibus jam pluries Romanis, constructis demum muris et vallis a mari ad mare et turribus erectis, quanquam incassum, et armis ad Britonum tutelam demum in insula relictis, Gildas subjungit: "Illis itaque ad sua reversis, certatim emergunt, tanquam de cavernis sole incalescente vermiculorum cunei, tetri[3] Pictorum Scotorum[que] greges, moribus quidem multum dissidentes, habitu tamen et cultu, necnon una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes, furciferosque magis vultus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes. Cognita legionum reversione reditusque denegatione, solito confidentius omnem aquilonarem extremamque terræ partem primum muro tenus, postea murum ipsum et turres irrumpendo ac dejiciendo, fines illos ex toto et incendiis vastaverunt."

Gildas, § 19.

Irruption of the Picts and Scots.

f. 97 *b*.

The Britons appeal to Rome.

Gildas, § 20.

Unde et Gildas gentis suæ gemens imbecillitatem in eodem libro ponit de epistola Romam propter auxilium ab ipsis transmissa verba eorundem hæc: "Barbari nos ad mare propellunt, mare quoque ad barbaros. Inde trucidamur, hinc submergimur." Et non longe post de eisdem dicit quod Britones non sunt in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles. Propter harum itaque

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[1] *ad*] ab, MS.

[2] This and the following passages are not quoted at all verbally from Gildas.

[3] *tetri*] tetrique, MS.

gentium graves infestationes et hostiles jugiter irruptiones, cum ipsis de cætero Romani deessent, nec ipsi se[1] suis viribus defendere possent, propter stipendiarios milites in Germaniam nuntios omine sinistro sibi suisque nimis infausto transmiserunt. Advenientes etenim Saxones tanquam pro Britonibus pugnaturi, immo verius ipsos oppugnaturi, nec sacramenta nec fidem respicientes, quin etiam cum hostibus, quos oppugnare deberent, statim fœdera jungentes, totum denique processu temporis per enormes et inauditas proditiones perque conflictus grandes et graves Britanniæ regnum civibus expulsis occupaverunt.

De Saxonibus in Britanniam ad stipendia vel magis ad incendia et gentis excidia vocatis.

They invite the Saxons,

who treacherously join their enemies.

Porro de Pictorum gente pervalida post tot victorias qualiter evanuit succincte dicemus. Occupata,[2] ut diximus, a Saxonibus insula stabilique cum Pictis pace firmata, Scoti, qui Pictis adjuncti et ab eis ad terram inhabitandam accersiti fuerant, videntes Pictos, quanquam propter affinitatem Hiberniæ jam pauciores, longe tamen armis et animositate præstantiores, ad solitas et tanquam sibi innatas proditiones, quibus cæteris præeminent gentibus, recurrerunt. Convocatosque, tanquam ad convivium, magnates Pictorum cunctos, captata tam cibi quam potus crapula et ingurgitatione forsan nimia, etiam opportunitate notata, clavorum extractione qui tabulata tenebant in bancorum concavitatem quibus sedebant mira decipula poplite tenus, ita quod se nullatenus erigere possent, communiter undique lapsos, desubitos quidem et improvisos, nec ab affinibus et confœderatis[3] suoque beneficio confeodatis et bellorum sociis quicquam tale timentes, statim trucidaverunt universos. Sic itaque de duobus populis

Treacherous massacre of Picts by the Scots.

De Pictis Scotorum proditione deletis.

Nota.

[1] *se*] de, MS.

[2] *Occupata . . . . obtinuerunt*] Quoted by Higden, lib. i. cap. 58 (vol. ii. p. 154).

[3] *confœderatis*] consideratis, MS.

gens bellicosior et validior totaliter evanuit; altera vero longe modis omnibus impar, tanquam in tempore tantæ proditionis emolumenta assecuta, totam[1] a mari usque ad mare terram illam quam a suo nomine Scotiam dixerunt usque in hodiernum obtinuerunt.

Origin of the names of the Irish and Scots.

Sicut autem a Bruto duce Britones nomen traxerunt, sic Hibernici ab Hebreo duce, vel secundum alios ab[2] f. 98. Hibero Hispaniæ fluvio, unde provenerant. Dicti sunt et Gaideli a duce sic dicto, sicut ab uxore Gaideli illius, quæ vocata est Scotia, dicti sunt Scoti. Quidam tamen autumant a Wandalis, de quibus originalem lineam duxere, sicut originem sic et nuncupationem Gaidelos traxisse.

The emperor Tiberius II., A.D. 578. Hug. Flor., p. 141.

Tiberius ergo Romanorum imperator quinquagesimus imperium sumens regnavit annis tribus, et mensibus decem, novemque diebus. Iste fuit vir Catholicus et religiosus; unde multas in Constantinopolitana urbe renovavit ecclesias. Hic quoque terram Persarum intravit et eos potentissime debellavit, indeque egrediens tantam molem prædæ cum elephantis multis adduxit ut humanæ cupiditati crederetur posse sufficere. Hujus autem tempore, quanquam Catholicus ipse fuisset, Arriana hæresis multas provincias infecerat et regiones occupaverat.

Constantine III., A.D. 668. Justinian II., A.D. 685. Hug. Flor., p. 157. Nicephorus, A.D. 802. Michael, A.D. 811. Transfer of the western empire to the Franks, A.D. 800.

Mortuo denique paulo post apud urbem regiam Constantino orthodoxo Augusto, filius ejus Justinianus imperii moderamina gubernanda hæreditario jure suscepit. Ab[3] hoc itaque Constantino principe bono prætermissa tyrannorum turba, more tyrannico vel depositorum vel crudeliter exstinctorum, usque Nicephorum[4] et Michaelem, quorum unus turpiter occisus, alter vero ignominiose depositus et monachus effectus, translato ad Francos occidentali et Romæ veteris imperio, ad ipsorum strenuitatem pariter et devotionem stilum vertemus, et a Karolo Pippini filio, qui auctoritate Romani pontificis Zachariæ ex Præfecto Palatii Rex Francorum fuerat institutus, incipiemus.

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[1] *totam*] totum, MS.
[2] *ab*] ad, MS.
[3] *Ab*] Ad, MS.
[4] *Nicephorum*] viceforum, MS.

Ut igitur ad[1] Karoli Francorum regis, qui et Romanorum primo factus est Advocatus, deinde Patricius, demum vero Imperator et Augustus, fortia gesta depromenda[2] enucleatius accedamus, de situ Galliæ ortuque et progressu regum, qui primo Sicambri, deinde Franci sunt vocati, Alquini vestigia, doctoris Karoli, expresse sequentes, ordiemur: "Galliæ situs ad orien- "talem plagam confinia sui et Italiæ juga montium "habet; ad meridiem vero fretum Mediterraneum, "provinciam præterfluens Narbonensem; porro ad oc- "ciduum Hispanias et oceanum, qui mare[3] Gallicum "sive Britannicum dicitur. Inde vero septentrionem "versus protenditur usque ad Reni fluenta, qui supra- "dictis Jovinis defluens Alpibus Galliam dividit a "Germanis. Hisque Gallia limitibus sic circumcincta "refertur," etc., sicut Alquini descriptio manifeste declarat. The boundaries of Gaul.

Verum tandem magnificus imperator Karolus, cum finem vitæ sibi cerneret imminere, Lodowico filio suo, quem Aquitanniæ regem dudum ordinaverat, coronam imperialem deliquit; Bernardum autem, filium Pippini filii sui, Italiæ regem fecit. Decessit autem anno vitæ suæ lxxij., regni vero sui xlvij., et Incarnationis Christi dccexiiij., indictione iiij.,[4] v. kalendas Februarij. Sepultus est autem in ecclesia sanctæ Dei Genetricis Mariæ Aquisgrani; arcusque super tumulum ejus deauratus est exstructus cum imagine et titulo tali: "Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus "Karoli magni atque orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui reg- "num Francorum nobiliter ampliavit et per annos "xlvi.[5] feliciter perrexit.[6] Decessit septuagenarius,[7] "anno Dominicæ Incarnationis," etc., ut supra. Death of Charles the Great, and division of his empire, A.D. 814. Hug. Flor., p. 177. f. 98 *b*. Inscription on his tomb.

Eodem quoque tempore floruit sanctus Egidius confessor præcipuus, natione Græcus, qui Dei nutu veniens ad Gallias in provincia cui Septimana nomen est heremiticam duxit St. Giles. Hug. Flor., p. 177.

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[1] *ad*] a, MS.

[2] *depromenda*] depromerenda, MS.

[3] *qui mare*] quod, MS.

[4] *iiij.*] So also Hug. Flor.; properly "vii.," as in Eginhard.

[5] *xlvi.*] xlvii., Eginh. The inscription is not given by Hug. Flor.

[6] *perrexit*] rexit, Eginh.

[7] *septuagenarius*] septuagesinarius, MS.

Paul [Warnefrid], the Lombard. vitam. Claruit etiam temporibus his Paulus gentis suæ, id est Longobardorum, historiæ scriptor, qui de monasterio Montis Cassini venit in Galliam, attractus amore præfati principis Karoli præcellentissimi imperatoris.

Four visits of Charles to Rome. Qualiter autem quaternium Romam profectus[1] est, et qualiter ultima vice propter Leonem papam multis affectum injuriis, in oculis scilicet erutis et lingua amputata, vindicandum et in sede locandum Romam venit, et propter reformandum, qui nimis conturbatus, ecclesiæ statum per totum tempus hiemale moram ibidem fecit, ubi et tunc demum Imperatoris et Augusti nomen accepit, qualiter etiam ante decessum suum, His will. et quam Catholice, testamentum suum condidit et thesauros suos et gazas per ecclesias regni et imperii sui et monasteria pariter et xenodochia, necnon et eleemosynarum multifarie largitionem nobili distributione divisit, Presages of his death. quæ etiam signa, quot et quanta tam manifesta quoque et quam admiranda, mortem tanti principis præcesserant et prænunciaverant, qui singula plenius scire voluerit, ad Alquini scripta recurrat.

Louis the Pious, A.D. 814–840. Nunc autem de Lodowico, Karoli regis filio, de quo et prius pauca prælibavimus, plenius dicemus. Hug. Flor., p. 179. Lodowicus ergo Pius, Karoli filius magni imperatoris, post[2] patris obitum Romanum obtinens imperium anno divinæ Incarnationis dcccxiiij., imperavit annis ferme xxvij. Hic fuit vir clementissimæ naturæ, unde, cum juxta suorum lenitatem morum rem publicam disponeret, tulit finem multis adversitatibus plenum, tam a liberis quam a proceribus crudeliter impugnatus; fuit tamen præceptorum Domini ferventissimus executor et legis sanctæ strenuissimus propagator. Congregatis nempe episcopis et nobilissimis Council of Aachen, A.D. 816. viris fecit componi et ordinari librum canonicam normam continentem. Ipsius denique tempore cœperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis baltei gemmeis cultris[3] onerati et f. 99. cingula[4] auro compta et exquisite adornata[5] et alia sæcu-

[1] *profectus*] perfectus, MS.
[2] *post*] om. MS.
[3] *cultris*] Hug. Flor.; ciltris, or cibris, MS. A copy of Hug. Flor. at Vienna reads "culturis" (Lambecius, *Commentarii*, lib. ii., 1769, p. 735).
[4] *cingula*] singula, MS.
[5] *adornata*] adornati, MS.; exquisitæ vestes, Hug. Flor.

laria pariter ornamenta. Adjecit præterea quædam sæcularibus legibus capitula necessaria. Genuit etiam serenissimus imperator tres filios ex Equengarde [1] prima uxore sua, scilicet Lotharium, Pippinum, atque Lodovicum; et ex sua uxore secunda, nomine Judith, genuit Karolum regem Francorum. Porro Lotharius, imperatoris primogenitus, dum esset a patre benignissimo super Italiam constitutus, Romam venit et sancti Paschæ die in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli a Paschali papa coronam cum nomine suscepit Augusti.

His sons.

De Lodovico Karoli filio.

Lothair the eldest, king of Italy, crowned at Rome, A.D. 823.

Paschali vero papæ successit Eugenius, ad quem misit Hilduinus, abbas Sancti Dionysii sanctique Medardi, postulans ab eo sibi transmitti ossa venerabilis martyris Sebastiani; quod et impetravit, et honorabiliter juxta Sancti Medardi, ut decebat, collocavit corpus in Suesonica urbe.[2] Eodem etiam tempore sanctissimorum martyrum Hippoliti atque Tyburtii corpora a Roma delata [3] et in Sancti Dionysii ecclesia, non longe ab urbe Parisiaca, sunt tumulata. His præterea temporibus Gundulpho, Mezensi episcopo, Drogo frater imperatoris Lodowici successit. In Romana vero cathedra Eugenio successit Valentinianus,[4] et Valentiniano Gregorius quartus, quo annuente Lotharius patrem suum Lodowicum comprehendit et apud Sancti Medardi monasterium custodiri mandavit. Uxorem quoque ipsius Judith exilio relegavit, et Karolum, quem ex ea Lodowicus susceperat, castro Prignæ [5] commendavit. Verum non multo post Franciæ principes [6] imperatorem Lodowicum a custodia liberaverunt et patri filium Lotharium reconciliaverunt. Post hæc vero clementissimus imperator inter filios suos quatuor suum divisit imperium, et Lothario quidem Italiam, Lodowico vero Germaniam atque Saxoniam, et Pippino Aquitanniam, Karolo vero Franciam delegavit atque Burgundiam. Sed Lotharius hanc imperii divisionem non æquanimiter tulit, sed totum imperium sibi

Translation to France of the relics of SS. Sebastian, Hippolytus, and Tiburtius.

De corporibus martyrum Hippoliti atque Tyburtii de Roma in Galliam apud Sanctum Dyonisium translatis.

Drogo, bishop of Metz.

Popes Valentine and Gregory IV.

Louis is confined by Lothair.

De Lodowico a filio suo Lothario comprehenso.

De regnis et imperio inter quatuor filios Lodowici divisis.

Divides the empire among his sons.

[1] *Equengarde*] so MS.; Hermingarde, Hug. Flor.
[2] *urbe*] Hug. Flor.; om. MS.
[3] *delata*] Hug. Flor.; om. MS.
[4] *Valentinianus*] Valentinus, Hug. Flor., more correctly.
[5] *Prignæ*] Priunnæ, Hug. Flor.
[6] *principes*] princeps, MS.

subjicere tentavit; quod ut pater comperit, illico adversus eum iter arripuit. Sed in ipso itinere adversa comprehensus valitudine, diem clausit extremum. Cujus corpus a Drogone episcopo Metis delatum et in ecclesia sancti Arnulphi confessoris est tumulatum. Decessit vero anno vitæ suæ sexagesimo quarto.

Death of Louis, A.D. 840.

Battle of Fontenay, A.D. 841.

Hug. Flor., p. 180.

Post cujus obitum tres ejus filii apud Fontanidum,[1] ut dictum est, supra Burgundiæ campum atrociter pugnaverunt propter regnum Aquitanniæ, scilicet quo frater eorum regnaverat, eodem vero[2] Pippinus jam defunctus. f. 99 b. In quo bello Franciæ, Italiæ, Aquitanniæ, Saxoniæ, Alemanniæ, Burgundiæ omnes pæne milites mutuis sese concidere vulneribus; victoriam tamen Karolus obtinuit. In Romana vero cathedra memorato papæ Gregorio Sergius successit, et Sergio Leo quartus, et Leoni Benedictus, et Benedicto Nicholaus. Floruit his temporibus Theodulphus Floriacensium abbas et Aurelianensium episcopus. Qui cum infamatus[3] multis criminibus apud imperatorem Lodowicum fuisset, Andegavensem ad urbem exilio relegatus est. Qui[4] dum in custodia teneretur, contigit ut illuc die Palmarum veniret jam dictus imperator piissimus, et cum secus domum qua custodiebatur idem Theodulphus episcopus processio pertransiret,[5] facto silentio, præsente imperatore, illos pulcherrimos versus qui nunc usque per Galliam in eandem sollemnitatem psalluntur a se editos per fenestram decantavit. Quorum hoc est exordium:

Succession of popes from Gregory IV. to Nicholas I.

Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 788–821.

Author of the hymn "Gloria, laus "et honor."

"Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit, rex Christe Redemptor,
"Cui puerile decus prompsit osanna pium."

Quibus imperator emollitus mox eum a vinculis exsolvi præcepit et priori gratiæ redonavit; sed, dum ad sua revertitur, veneno, sicut fertur, exstinguitur. Cui successit in episcopatu Jonas, vir venerabilis, qui contra Claudium, Taurinensem[6] episcopum, hæresiarcham librum de Adoranda edidit Cruce. Dogmatizavit enim memoratus hæreticus Crucis Dominicæ signum non oportere adorari, quod nisi adhibeatur frontibus nostris, sive aquis quibus[7] regeneramur, aut chris-

Jonas, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 825–843.

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[1] *Fontanidum*] Fontamdum, MS.
[2] *eodem vero*] so MS.
[3] *infamatus*] insimulatus, Hug. Flor.
[4] *Qui*] Hug. Flor.; Quo, MS.
[5] *pertransiret*] Hug. Flor.; permansiret, MS.
[6] *Taurinensem*] Hug. Flor.; Thuirimensem, MS.
[7] *quibus*] Hug. Flor.; om. MS.

mati quo linimur, aut sacrificio quo vegetamur, nihil rite perficitur. Sed ei memoratus episcopus Jonas satis lucide catholiceque illo suo respondit libello. Floruit etiam hoc eodem tempore vir quidam Rabanus nomine, qui et ipse de Laude Crucis librum diversis schematibus decoratum metrice composuit. Rabanus Maurus.

Porro Lodovico imperatori quatuor successere filii; quorum Lotharius post patris obitum non multis diebus evolutis adversa valitudine correptus, imperii sui temperamento derelicto, factus est monachus, relinquens filio suo Lodovico Italici dignitatem imperii. Karolus vero Pius, qui et Calvus[1] est agnominatus, Franciam, Burgundiam, et Britanniam[2] obtinuit solus[3]; nec longe post Romani quoque imperii culmen est adeptus. Sed et Francorum, ut dictum est, ultimus regnum simul et imperium obtinuit, celsitudine postmodum imperiali ad Baioarios translata. Abdication of Lothair, A.D. 855. Charles the Bald, A.D. 840-877.

Cap. XIX.

De principalium nominum expositione.

De principalibus autem nominibus et eorum expositionibus tempus est ut nunc dicamus, quatinus ex ipsis eorumque significantiis tam principibus[4] quam prælatis quæ conveniant evidenter appareat. Imperator igitur ab imperando dicitur, quoniam in totum imperii corpus exercet imperia; puta penes quem est imperandi ab universitate collata potestas. O magnæ majestatis virum, cujus est imperare et universitatis obtemperare! O quanta discretionis lima, quanto[5] maturitatis pondere, sacrum tenetur os in verba resolvere, cujus ad vocem regna moventur, cujus in vultum cunctorum oculi convertuntur, cujus edicta vel perniciem orbi parant[6] vel salutem! Divus etiam imperator Of the explanation of princely titles. f. 100. Unde dictus Imperator. Unde Divus.

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[1] *Calvus*] Clavus, MS.
[2] *Britanniam*] Aquitaniam, Hug. Flor.
[3] *solus*] The Chronicle of Hugo Floriacensis ends here.
[4] *principibus*] principiis, MS.
[5] *quanto*] quantum, MS.
[6] *parant*] parunt, MS.

dici solet, quasi divinus, eo quod in tribus diis quoque similis esse debeat, pietate scilicet et patientia et beneficiorum largitione. Primum autem Octaviano datum est hoc nomen Augusto. Inter omnes enim virtutes præcipuum pietas in principe locum tenet. Perierat quippe, ut ait Seneca, totus orbis nisi iram finiret misericordia. Unde et Pius quoque imperator dici solet, ut, cum pietatis nomen sibi princeps viderit appropriatum, meminisse queat, sicut nec nomine, sic quoque se nec nominis significato carere debuisse. Patiens quoque princeps esse tenetur, ut nec sit animi vindicis nec iræ præcipitis. Nam, ut ait poeta:

Unde Pius.

Ovid, Trist., ii. 34.

"Si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
"Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit."

Est et principi proprium beneficum [1] esse, quatinus cunctis beneficia præstet, nec tantum bonis et bene meritis, sed etiam ingratis, adeo ut non solum vitæ suffragia morte dignis, sed etiam plerumque vitam præstet,[2] memor quoniam summus ille princeps et plasmator omnium solem suum tam justis oriri facit quam injustis, et quod, offensus plurimum et ad iram provocatus, fabricata tam fulmina pauca mittit, multa remittit. Potius enim ut terreat quam ut terat, potius ut multos instruat quam unum destruat, graviorem exercere expedit interdum animadversionem. Unde poeta:

Matt. v. 45.

Ovid, Epp. ex P., III. ii. 9.

"Cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent."

Unde Augustus.

Dictus erat et Augustus ab augendo rem publicam. Non enim circa propria seu familiaria, sed circa publica commoda sollicitari debet; in commune bonus, nec sibi sed toti natura se credere mundo. Hoc autem nomen Octaviano Cæsari, devicto Antonio sub Actiaco [3] promontorio, primum a Romanis Romam victoriose reverso fuit impositum. Dictus est et Pater [4] Patriæ

Unde Patriæ Pater.

[1] *beneficum*] beneficium, MS.
[2] *præstet*] præstat, MS.
[3] *Actiaco*] Attico, MS.
[4] *Pater*] om. MS.

quatinus ex hac sua nuncupatione paternum erga patriam induat affectum et, sicut pater erga filios, sic princeps erga populos mitescere discat et subjectos. Rex autem a regendo nomen accepit, quia primo se ipsum, deinde subditum sibi populum, regere debet; quomodo enim alios regere potest, ipse regendus. Sed in nave gubernanda necessaria videtur ars moderandi; quanto magis in regno regendo, cum ibi paucorum, hic vero multorum, vel commoda versentur vel pericula. Cum in illius imperitia paucorum de populo, in hujus vero totius populi, strages jaceat. Si ergo rectorem urbis sua non immerito commendat industria, quanto magis et orbis. Alioquin nationi subditæ comicum[1] illud improperari posset: "Patrono is indi-"get, quem defensorem paras." Princeps dicitur quasi primum caput. Sicut enim hominis seu cujuslibet animalis caput non solum sibi aut videt aut audit, verum ad totius corporis regimen tam his quam aliis corporeis[2] uti sensibus constat, sic imperii seu regni caput non solum non audire non videre, sed nec sibi vivere tenetur, immo suis. Quod enim caput sine membris, hoc princeps sine subjectis. Dux dicitur a ducendo, quoniam alios ducere debet. Si ergo vel cæcus vel viæ ignarus fuerit, quomodo ducatum aliis præstabit. Nonne, "Si cæcus cæcum ducat, ambo in "foveam cadunt?" Consul dicitur a consulendo, quia consiliis rem publicam juvare debet, vel quia super publicis negotiis crebro consulendus est et conveniendus. Sed quomodo nisi consilio præstans consilium aliis præstare præsumit? Nonne, ut ait poeta:

Unde Rex.

f. 100 *b*.

Cf. Terent., Eun., iv. 6, 32.

[Unde Princeps.]

Unde Dux.

Matt. xv. 14.

Unde Consul.

Hor., Od., iii. 4, 65.

"Vis consili expers[3] mole ruit sua?"

Præses dicitur a præsidendo, quoniam et aliis præsidere aliisque præsidium ferre debet. Sed, si præsi-

Unde Præses.

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[1] *comicum*] carmen, in margin as a correction.

[2] *corporeis*] corporibus, MS.

[3] *Vis . . . expers*] Expers consilii ius, MS.

dere nesciens vel præesse magis quam prodesse cupiens, quomodo præsidebit aliis ingenii ipse præsidiis? Comes dicitur a comitando, quia multi eum comitari debent; sic itaque comiti cura seque suosque felici comitatu ad bravium perducere. Cum ergo Imperator ab aliis imperando, Rex a regendo, Consul a consulendo, Dux a ducendo, Præses a præsidendo, nomina traxerunt, si tam nominum res quam eorum a quibus ipsa descendunt nomina verborum proprietates in alios transeunt, actiones omnes in subjecta transmittunt, constans est et conspicuum principales viros non sibi solum, sed commissæ multitudinis curæ, dignitatis gradus ascendisse.

Unde Comes.

Of ecclesiastical titles.

Gem. An., i. 188.

De dignitatibus ecclesiasticis et primum unde dicitur papa.

Sicut autem terrarum principes, sic et ecclesiarum prælati nuncupationes ex officiis et dignitatibus susceperunt. Dicitur[1] ergo Papa quasi pater patrum vel custos patrum. Hic etiam universalis nuncupatur, quia universæ ecclesiæ principatur. Hic quoque Apostolicus nominatur, quia principis apostolorum vice fungitur. Hic etiam Summus Pontifex appellatur, quia caput omnium episcoporum esse videtur. Hujus nomen in ordinatione mutatur, quia Petri nomen in prælatione ecclesiæ a Christo mutabatur. Huic etiam claves traduntur, quia Petro a Domino claves regni cœlorum tradebantur, ut se janitorem cœli esse cognoscat,[2] in quod ecclesiam introducere debeat. Hunc Melchissedech in officio prætulit, cujus sacerdotium aliis incomparabile fuit. Papæ autem officium est missas et officia ordinare, canones pro tempore ad utilitatem ecclesiæ immutare, Augustum
f. 101. consecrare, pallia archiepiscopis, privilegia episcopis

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[1] From this point down to "Laurentius" (p. 112, l. 29) is mostly extracted from the "Gemma Animæ, sive de divinis officiis et antiquo ritu missarum," &c., printed among the works of Honorius of Autun (Migne, clxxii. col. 541), lib. i. capp. 180–188.

[2] *cognoscat*] cognoscit, MS.

vel aliis religiosis dare, totam ecclesiam, ut Christus, gubernare. Itaque papa in vice Christi ecclesiam regit, episcopi in loco apostolorum ei præsunt, presbiteri lxxij. discipulos exprimunt, reliqui ministri diaconos ab apostolis constitutos præferunt.

Unde Patriarcha. Gem. An., i. 187.

Patriarcha dicitur summus patrum vel princeps patrum; patriarcha etiam præesse patriarchiæ vel ecclesiæ dicitur. Hi tantum tres scribuntur, quorum figuram Abraham, Isaac, Jacob gessisse leguntur. Horum itaque unus principatum in Asia tenuit, qui principatu vel præsulatu in Antiochia præfuit; alius in Africa primatum habuit, qui in Alexandria pontificatum tenuit; tertius in Europa principabatur, qui Romani apicis infula decorabatur. Has tres sedes ideo ecclesia principales constituit, quia eas Petrus princeps apostolorum sua cessione consecravit; duabus quippe præsedit, tertiam Marcus evangelista nomini ejus ascripsit. Postquam vero Nicæna Synodus Romano pontifici hoc contulit privilegium, ut, sicut Augustus præ regibus, ita ipse præ omnibus episcopis haberetur et Papa vocaretur, jus patriarchatus ad Constantinopolitanam urbem, scilicet secundam Romam, est translatum. Quod aliæ sedes mutatæ sunt, hæc causa creditur esse. Cum Christiani, relicta lege Dei, paganos spurcis operibus imitarentur, judicio Dei traditi sunt in manibus eorum qui, deletis Christianis, possederunt loca illorum; unde Antiochenus Patriarchatus est apud Jerosolimam translatus, Alexandrinus autem apud Aquileiam processu temporis est. Horum autem officium est archiepiscopos consecrare, concilia episcoporum congregare, decreta canonum instaurare.

Quod tres principales patriarchatus.

Unde Primas.

Primas quasi inter archiepiscopos primus dicitur et principalis, et est syncopatum ab hoc nomine "pri-"matis," unde et accentum super ultimam syllabam habet, super quam in integra fuit. Est autem primatis idem officium quod et patriarchæ, sola existente in nominibus diversitate.

Unde Cardinales.

Cardinales autem dicuntur a cardine, quia, sicut ostium vertitur circa cardinem, sic circa cardinales totum vertitur curiæ consilium. Sicut autem cardines ori, sic utinam aurum vel argentum cardinalium saperet cordi.

Unde Legati.

Legati dicuntur a legando, ad diversas scilicet orbis partes a domino papa propter ecclesiæ negotia destinati. De quibus abbas Bernardus, avaritiam in eorum et aviditatem suggillando, scripsit Eugenio Papæ: "Legati vestri ad vos redeant fatigati itinere, non "suffarcinati ære."

Unde Archiepiscopus vel metropolitanus. Gem. An., i. 186.

Archiepiscopus dicitur summus episcopus vel princeps episcoporum; *archos* quippe summus vel princeps dicitur. Idem etiam metropolitanus dicitur; metropolis autem mater civitatum vocatur a *metros*, quod est mensura, quia recta mensura aliis præminet civitatibus, et ideo principalium civitatum episcopi metropolitani nominantur. Horum officium est episcopos f. 101 *b*. consecrare, concilium congregare, jura dilapsa reparare. Hoc officium Moises habuit, qui Aaron pontificem oleo consecravit. Ante hos crux portatur et pallio in modum torquis[1] decorantur; qui, si Christum crucifixum imitantur, torque victoriæ remunerantur.

[Unde Episcopus.] Gem. An., i. 183.

Episcopus dicitur quasi supra intendens ab *epi*, quod est super, et *scopon*, intendens, tanquam scilicet de alto prospiciens mores et vitam subditorum. Sicut enim custos vineæ in alto residens undique prospicit, sic episcopus [Christi] vineæ, scilicet ecclesiæ, custos quasi in alto residens populum sub se positum prospiciens instruit. Unde ut[2] speculator in alta turri ponitur, ut hostes adventantes speculetur et cives ad resistendum adhortetur, sic episcopus quasi in specula locatur, ut populum contra hostes dæmones et hæreses armare nitatur. Hic quoque præsul nominatur, vel quia præsidere ad consultum putatur, vel quasi præ

Unde Præsul.

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[1] *torquis*] crucis, Gem. An. | [2] *ut*] et, MS.

solo, hic est præ terra seu patria, in spiritualium cura præstitutus. Hic etiam antistes, quasi ante stans, dicitur, qui populo præminere videtur; hoc etiam ab *anti*, quod est contra, inde antistes quasi contra stans dicitur, quasi hæreticis, ut lupis pastor, contra stare et oves protegere cernitur.

Unde Antistes.

Est etiam pontifex dictus, quasi pons factus; vita quippe episcopi debet esse pons populo super mare sæculi ad patriam Paradysi. Vel pontifex dicitur, quia pontem populo facit, dum eum sana doctrina super paludes hæresium ad atria vitæ ducit. Sic in veteri lege Summus Sacerdos appellabatur, qui cæteris sacerdotibus et Levitis principabatur; hic nomen Domini tetragrammaton portabat, et semel in anno pro populo offerebat. In lege Aaron primus est in summum sacerdotem unctus; in evangelio autem Jacobus apostolus est primus ab apostolis Jerosolimis episcopus ordinatus. Unde, dum ordinatur, a duodecim episcopis consecrari imperatur, et, si necessitas cogit, saltem a tribus, ut Paulus a Petro, Jacobo et Johanne est ordinatus. Quod oleo ungitur, hoc a lege accipitur in qua rex et sacerdos vel propheta oleo ungebatur. Quod autem benedictio per manus impositionem datur inde exortum creditur, quod Isaac Jacobo manus imposuit, dum eum benedixit, et Moyses Josuæ manus imposuit, dum eum ducem populo fecit, et Dominus in Evangelio apostolis manus imposuit, dum eos [1] principes et sacerdotes ecclesiæ constituit; sed et ipsi apostoli manus imposuerunt, cum Spiritum Sanctum dederunt. Hujus officium est presbiteros et reliquos ecclesiæ ministros ordinare, virgines velare, baptizatos confirmare, chrisma et oleum consecrare, ecclesias dedicare, vasa et vestes ecclesiæ benedictione sanctificare, rebelles excommunicare, pœnitentes recon-

Unde Pontifex.

Unde Summus Sacerdos.

Gem. An., i. 184.

Quod Jacobus est primus ab apostolis Jerosolimis episcopus consecratus.

Unde oleo inunctio.

Gem. An., i. 185.

[1] *eos*] eum, MS.

f. 102. ciliare, in synodo clericorum vel in conventu populorum ecclesiastica jura roborare. Huic dum regimen ecclesiæ committitur, baculus quasi pastori, et annulus quasi apocrisiario,[1] id est secretorum sigillatori, traditur, quatinus gregem ad pascua vitæ baculo doctrinæ muniat et minet, atque sponsæ Christi scripturarum annulo fidei secreta consignet.

Unde baculi, unde annuli.

Unde Archipresbiter.

Nota.

Quamvis tamen olim, ut ait Jeronimus,[2] idem presbiteri qui et episcopi erant et cuncta tam officia ecclesiastica quam sacramenta in commune gerebant, archipresbiter dicitur quasi summus presbiter vel principalis, quem quidam eundem putant quem et decanum, presbiteris aliis et clericis causa administrationis[3] jure præpositum. Alii dicunt archipresbiterum principalem in plebanis ecclesiis, ubi plures tam presbiteri quam clerici ministrant inferiores, quales in Italia multæ sunt ecclesiæ quæ plebanæ vocantur. Decanus autem dicitur qui decem presbiteris ad minus est prælatus. Præpositus in ecclesia, qui aliis sub episcopo præpositus esse dinoscitur; et videtur idem officium esse præpositi, quod in majoribus ecclesiis decani. Œconomus is est, cui res ecclesiastica custodienda mandatur, cum consensu canonicorum; iste tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus habet jurisdictionem, ideoque et istud officium tantum clerico competit. Vicedominus in rebus temporalibus spectantibus[4] ad mensam episcopi præest, quasi Seneschallus scilicet, et rerum episcopalium curam et administrationem gerens. Castaldus[5] rebus dumtaxat canonico-

Unde Decanus.

Unde Præpositus.

Unde Œconomus.

Unde Vicedominus.

Unde Castaldus.

[1] *apocrisiario*] Gem. An.; ypocrifario, MS.

[2] The reference appears to be to Jerome, Comm. in Ep. ad Titum, cap. 1 (Migne, xxvi. col. 562), "Idem est ergo presbyter qui et "episcopus; . . . . . et communi "presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ "gubernabantur."

[3] *causa administrationis*] cujusdam administratio, MS.

[4] *spectantibus*] spectantes, MS.

[5] *Castaldus*] "Gastaldus, Castaldus, etc. Sic appellabant "Longobardi locorum, prædiorum "ac villarum præfectos, rerum "dominicarum actores, procuratores, administratores, villicos." Ducange, *s.v.*

rum temporalibus præesse solet; et potest uterque, tam vicedominus quam castaldus, laicus esse. Sindicus idem est quod actor universitatis, et potest hic laicus esse, sed in causis esse debet exercitatus. Cum autem præscripta officia hodie valde[1] permixta sint et minus ab invicem aperte distincta, et quanto majori ex parte nunc quasi obsoleta et minus in ecclesia reperiuntur usitata, tanto minus eorum vel proprietas vel diversitas evidens est aut manifesta. Corepiscopus qui de choro[2] solum est prælatus; hic tantum minores ordines conferebat. Sed quoniam corepiscopi se processu temporis in superbiam erexerunt et non concessa sibi usurpare præsumpserunt, hoc officium jam olim penitus evanuit et ab aula recessit.

Unde Sindicus.

[Unde Chorepiscopus.]

Presbiter dicitur senior, non ætate sed sensu; "cani "enim sunt sensus hominis."[3] Hi in lege principes populi, ut Chore, Dathan et Abiron, vel magistratus templi, ut Nichodemus et Gamaliel, dicebantur, et per eos sacrificia populi offerebantur. Presbiter etiam dicitur "præbens iter," scilicet populo de exilio hujus mundi ad patriam cœlestis regni. Horum officium est missas celebrare, pro populo sacrificare, corpus Domini dispensare, prædicare, baptizare, pœnitentes absolvere, infirmos ungere, mortuos sepelire, populum ad missam, vel nuptias, vel arma, vel peras cum baculis, vel judicia ferri et aquæ, vel candelas, vel palmas, vel cineres, vel quaslibet res ad cibum pertinentes benedicere. His episcopus manus in ordinatione imponit, potestatem ligandi atque solvendi tradit, quatinus ipsi ita vivant, ut alios ligare atque solvere valeant. Jugum Domini suave eis imponit, dum collum illorum stola cingit, quatinus sic legi Dei obediant, ut alios regere queant. Manus illorum chrismate perungit, ut cuncta quæ benedicunt benedicta sint, quatinus se ab immundo

Unde Presbiter. Gem. An., i. 181.

f. 102 *b*.

Nota.

[1] *valde*] vale, MS.

[2] *choro*] thoro, MS.

[3] *cani . . . hominis*] Gem. An. (quoted from Sapientia, iv. 8); cum enim sunt hominis, MS.

opere contineant, ut digne corpus Christi conficere valeant.

Unde Sacerdos. Gem. An., i. 182.

Dicitur et sacerdos quasi "sacrum dans"; dat enim corpus Domini vel alia sacramenta populo. Sacerdos etiam dicitur "sacer dux," quia verbo et exemplo ducatum ad vitam populo præbere debet. Hic et corpus Christi conficit et ex officii præeminentia sacramentorum omnium majus et longe præcellentius in ara dispensat. Unde et presbiteri ordinis et gradus prærogativa interdum a Domino Christi interdum angeli, interdum etiam dii vocantur.

Unde Levi[tæ]. Gem. An., i. 180.

A Levi filio Jacob Levitæ, id est assumpti, denominantur, per quos cuncta sacrificia sub sacerdotibus administrabantur; ex quibus Eleazar et Ytamar prædicantur. Hos etiam ecclesia diaconos, id est ministros, nuncupat, quia sacerdotibus ministrant. Horum officium est in ecclesia evangelium [legere], sacrificium in altari componere, sanguinem Domini distribuere, licentiam populo abeundi dare et, si necesse est, prædicare et baptizare. His ordinandis episcopus stolam dat, ut se lege Dei constrictos cognoscant ac se castitati in servitio Dei omnimode subdant. Ideoque sinistris eorum humeris et non dextris stola imponitur, ut contra spirituales nequitias, quæ sinistra suggerunt et tanquam a sinistris infestant, præmuniti existant, et dextram quoque ad ministrandum expeditam habeant.

Of the name and office of an archdeacon.

Archidiaconus dicitur summus diaconus, ut fuit Stephanus, Vincentius, Laurentius. Quorum licet hodie paucos similes videmus, officium tamen illud in se bonum et sanctum; et qui occasiones delinquendi, quæ crebrius emergunt in hoc officio, cavere voluerint et cupiditates ab alto despicere officiumque strenue et sancte peragere, sanctos efficiens et electos. Archidiaconorum autem officium olim in ecclesia grande fuerat. Quod qui scire voluerit, legat privilegium archidiaconi a beato Gregorio digestum, quod in libro Brocardi

continetur et sic incipit, "Ministerium archidiaconi "constat esse in ecclesia ita ut quidquid sub episcopo "est illi videatur commissum," etc.; ubi omnia fere officia quæ per diversos personatus in majoribus ecclesiis hodie sunt distributa soli archidiacono inveniuntur assignata. Item ex libro Romani ordinis: "Ut archi- Cf. Decret. Greg., lib. i. tit. i. cap. 1. "diaconus post episcopum sciat se vicarium ejus esse "in omnibus et omnem curam in clero, tam in urbe f. 103. "positorum quam eorum qui parochias habitare nos-"cuntur, ad se pertinere, sive de ipsorum conversa-"tione, sive honore et restauratione ecclesiarum, sive "doctrina ecclesiasticorum vel cæterorum studio et "delinquentium rationem coram Deo redditurus est. "Et ut de tertio in tertium annum, si episcopus non "potest, parochiam universam circueat et cuncta quæ "emendatione indigent ad invicem sui episcopi corri-"gat," etc. Item ex concilio Toletano: "Omnem Ibid., cap. 2. "quærimoniam seu causam vel justitiam presbitero-"rum seu diaconorum vel subdiaconorum archidiaconus "ipse debet deliberare, ordinare et facere. Ideo vero "strenuus, providus, cautus, vicem sui episcopi agens "episcopii totius curam habeat," etc. Super clericos autem omnes exteriores et rurales, archipresbiteros et decanos archidiaconus modernis quoque[1] temporibus administrationem habet. Sicut et ex decretis Gratiani haberi poterit, caput Isidori, lxiii. distinctione, "Si in "plebibus," et xxv. distinctione, capitulo "Perlectis," Decret. Pars i., Dist. lxiii. cap. 20. ubi inter cætera et hoc subnectitur: "Archipresbiter "autem se esse sub archidiacono ejusque præceptis, Ibid., Dist. xxv. cap. 1. "sicut episcopi sui, obedire se sciat et quod ad[2] ejus "specialiter pertinet ministerium," etc. Item et illud ejusdem ad hoc facit, lxiij. distinctione: "Si in plebibus "archipresbiteri obierint, aut pro reatu aliquo exinde "ejecti fuerint, archidiaconus quantocius[3] proficiscatur "illuc et provideat[4] quod dignus ibidem pastor con-

[1] *quoque*] quo, MS.
[2] *ad*] ab, MS.
[3] *quantocius*] quam totius, MS.
[4] *provideat*] cum clericis et populis ipsius plebis electionem faciat, Decret.

" stituatur." Patet itaque quod principalia nomina tam ecclesiastica quam sæcularia, sicut ad declarandum principalium virorum dignitates et officia, sic ad insinuandum ex ipsis nuncupationibus quantam in subditos curam habere debeant et diligentiam sunt imposita.

Cap. XX.

De principis religione ac devotione.

Of the religion and devotion of a prince.

Cum autem fidelem quemlibet religio commendet plurimum et exornet, principales ipsa viros præcipue decet, qui non solum verbis et factis, quorum ad instar componitur orbis, verum etiam longe efficacius et copiosius merentur exemplis. Sicut enim, Scriptura testante, rege audiente verbum iniquum, omnes qui sub illo sunt scelesti sunt, et in Parabolis, "Princeps " qui libenter audit verba mendacii omnes ministros " impios habet," et Sapientia, "Secundum judicem " populi sic et ministri ejus, et qualis est rector civi- " tatis tales inhabitantes in ea"; sic et principe existente[1] bono boni quoque subditi fiunt, et ad capitis similitudinem membra plerumque informari solent. Unde poeta:

Prov. xxix. 12. Ecclus. x. 2. Nota.

Juv., Sat. viii. 140.

" Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
" Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur."

Unde et per contrarium major in magnis virtus emicat; et quanto suæ lucis radiis plures illustrat, tanto f. 103 b. clarior et carior ac pretiosior exstat. Unde illud de Codice in epistola Johannis Papæ primo folio: "Nihil " est quod luce clariore præfulgeat, quam recta fides " in principe; nihil est quod ita nequeat occasui sub- " jacere, quam vera religio. Nam cum auctorem vitæ " et luminis utraque respiciant, recte et tenebras re- " spuunt et nesciunt subjacere defectui."

Cod. Justin., lib. i. tit. 1. 8.

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[1] *existente*] existentes, MS.

Proinde et leges ab imperatoribus promulgatas, quibus erga Deum et ecclesiam sanctam eorum devotio patet et luce clarius emicat et enitescit, quasdam et hic inserere præter rem non putavi. Unde et in principio Codicis Justiniani: "Cunctos populos quos clementiæ "nostræ[1] regit imperium in tali volumus religione "[versari] quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradi"disse Romanis[2] religio usque adhuc ab ipso insi"nuata declarat, quam pontificem Damasum sequi "claret[3] et Petrum[4] Alexandriæ episcopum, virum "apostolicæ sanctitatis; hoc est ut secundum aposto"licam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam Patris "et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unam Deitatem sub pari "majestate et sub pia Trinitate credamus. Hanc legem "sequentes Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jube"mus amplecti, reliquos dementes vesanosque judi"cantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, divina "primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex "cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos," etc. Item quod non brachio suo vel ingenio, sed divinæ clementiæ potius, quoties aliquid gloriosum acciderit, imperator attribuat. Unde "de veteri jure enucle"ando": "Deo auctore nostro[5] gubernante impe"rium, quod nobis a cœlesti numine præstitum[6] est, "et bella feliciter peragimus et pacem decoramus et "statum rei publicæ sustentamus; ita animos[7] nostros "ad Dei omnipotentis exigimus auditorium,[8] ut neque "armis ascribamus[9] neque nostris militi"bus neque bellorum duci vel nostro "ingenio, sed omnem spem ad solam "referamus summæ prudentiam Trinita-

De legibus imperatorum Christi fidem redolentibus.

Imperial laws exhibiting a Christian spirit.

Cod. Justin., lib. i. tit. 1. 1.

Cod. Justin., lib. i. tit. 17. 1.

Quod nihil nobis sed Deo totum de successibus est attribuendum.

[1] *nostræ*] vestræ, MS.

[2] *Romanis*] Romanis novimus, MS.

[3] *claret*] daret, MS.

[4] *Petrum*] primum, MS.

[5] *nostro*] nostrum, Cod. Just.

[6] *numine præstitum*] majestate traditum, Cod. Just.

[7] *animos*] animus, MS.

[8] *exigimus auditorium*] erigimus adjutorium, Cod.

[9] *ascribamus*] confidamus, Cod.

"tis, unde et mundi totius elementa processerunt "et eorum dispositio in orbem terrarum est pro- "ducta." Item et Codex, titulo "de feriis": "Pro- "vinciarium judices vel præsides moneantur, ut in "quæstionibus latronum et maxime Isaurorum nul- "lum quadragesimæ nec venerabilem pascharum diem "existiment excipiendum, nec differatur sceleratorum "proditio consiliorum, quæ per latronum tormenta "quærenda est, cum facillime in hoc summi numinis "speretur venia, per quod multorum salus et incolu- "mitas procuratur." Item et subsequenter: "Dies "festos, dies majestati[1] altissimæ dedicatos nullis "volumus voluptatibus occupari nec ullis exactionum "vexationibus profanari. Dominicum itaque diem "semper venerabilem ita decrevimus honorandum, ut "a cunctis executionibus excusetur. Nulla quemquam "urgeat admonitio; nulla fidejussionis flagitetur ex- "actio; taceat apparitio; advocatio delitescat; sit "idem dies a cognitionibus[2] alienus; præconis hor- "rida vox silescat; respirent a controversiis litigantes "et habeant fœderis intervallum. Simul ad se veniant "adversarii non timentes; subeat animos vicaria pœ- "nitudo; pacta conferant; transactiones loquantur. "Nec tamen hæc[3] religiosæ diei otia relaxantes obsce- "nis quemquam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil "eodem die sibi vindicet scena theatralis vel cir- "cense certamen aut ferarum lacrimosa spectacula; "etiam si in nostrum ortum aut natalem celebranda sol- "lemnitas inciderit, differatur." Item et ex æquitate, qui quidem, sicut et pietas Deo religavit, commenda- biles exstiterunt—unde et in Codice, titulo "de judi- "ciis": "Placuit in omnibus [rebus] præcipuam esse "justitiæ æquitatisque"—judicium fuit quod revocati præsides coram novis et subrogatis per quinquaginta

Cod. Just., lib. iii. tit. 12. 10.

Ibid., tit. 12. 11.

f. 104.

Cod. Just., lib. iii. tit. 1. 8.

[1] *majestati*] majestatis, MS.
[2] *cognitionibus*] cogitationibus, MS.
[3] *hæc*] hoc, MS.

dies querulis in provincia respondere et non fisco, ut hodie plerisque in locis fieri solet, sed injuriam passis et oppressis ablata restituere cuncta tenebantur. Unde et in eodem: "Nemo ex viris clarissimis præ- "sidibus provinciarum vel consularibus aut correcto- "ribus neve qui [1] administrationis majoris insulas "meruerunt, id est viri spectabiles proconsules vel "præfecti augustales aut comes Orientis aut cujus- "libet tractus vicarius aut quicunque dux vel comes "cujuslibet militiæ vel divinarum comes domorum, "postquam sibi successus fuerit, audeat excedere [2] "de locis quæ rexisse dinoscitur, ante- "quam quinquaginta dierum constitutus "numerus finiatur, sed illud tempus præ- "sules quidem [et] consulares necnon cor- "rectores in metropoli spectabiles judices "tam aulæ [3] quam militares in civitatibus "administratæ [4] dioceseos illustrioribus pub- "lice nec [5] domi vel inter sacros terminos vel regiones [6] "aut potentes domos latitantes, sed in celeberrimis "locis ante omnium quos gubernaverunt ora versen- "tur, ut pateat omnibus facultas libera super furtis "aut criminibus querimoniam [7] commovendi," et cætera.

Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. 49. 1.

Quod quinquaginta diebus præses revocatus querulis cunctis respondere tenetur.

Item et de naufragis, quibus hodie ubique fere duplex consurgit tribulatio, dum et terrarum quibus [8] applicant, sicut et aquarum furentium, si quid eis mare reliquit, spoliati ex toto sævitiam sentiunt, plenam æquitate pariter et pietate legem statuere, ut Digesto nono, "de incendio, ruina, [naufragio,] rate "nave expugnata": "Prætor ait: 'In eum, qui ex

Roman laws as to wrecks.

Digest., lib. xlvii. tit. 9. 1.

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[1] *qui*] quis, MS.

[2] *audeat excedere*] audiat accedere, MS.

[3] *aulæ*] civiles, Cod.

[4] *administratæ*] administrare, MS.

[5] *nec*] vel, MS.

[6] *regiones*] religiones, MS.

[7] *querimoniam*] queri, MS.

[8] *quibus*] quis, MS.

" 'incendio, ruina, naufragio, rate naveque expugnata

De naufragiis [qui] quid sustulerit furtum committendo quadruplum reddat.

" 'quid rapuisse, recepisse, dolo malo dam- " 'nive quid in his rebus [dedisse] dice- " 'tur, in quadruplum in anno, quo pri- " 'mum de ea re experiundi[1] potestas " 'fuerit, post annum in simplum judicium " 'dabo. Item in servum et in familiam judicium

f. 104 b.

" 'dabo.' " Et paulo post, eodem titulo et loco "quo

Ibid., tit. 9. 3.

" naufragium fit vel factum est": "Si quis rapuerit, " incidisse in hoc edictum videatur. Qui autem in " littore rem jacentem, postea quam naufragium fac-

Nota.

" tum sit, abstulit, in ea conditione est, ut magis fur " sit quam edicto teneatur, quemadmodum is qui quod " de vehiculo exciderit tulerit; nec rapere videtur, " qui in littore[2] rem jacentem tollit. Deinde ait " prætor 'Rate navi expugnata.' Expugnare videtur, " qui[3] in ipso quasi prœlio et pugna adversus navem " et ratem aliquid rapit, sive expugnet sive prædoni- " bus expugnantibus rapiat. Labeo[4] scribit æquum " fuisse ut, sive in domo sive in villa expugnatis " aliquid rapiatur, huic edicto locus sit; non enim " minus in mari quam in villa per[5] latrunculos in- " quietamur vel infestari possumus. Non tantum " autem qui rapuit, verum is quoque [qui] recepit, ex " causis suprascriptis tenetur, quia receptores non " minus delinquunt quam aggressores. Sed[6] enim " additum est 'dolo malo,' quia non omnis etiam qui " recipit statim etiam delinquit, sed qui dolo malo " recipit. Aut quid, si ad hoc recipit ut custodiret " salvaque faceret ei qui[7] amiserat? Utique non " debet teneri. Non solum autem qui rapuit, sed et " qui abstulit et amovit vel damnum dedit vel rece-

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[1] *experiundi*] experendi, MS.
[2] *littore*] littorem, MS.
[3] *qui*] quod, MS.
[4] *Labeo*] libio, MS.
[5] *per*] pro, MS.
[6] *Sed*] Si, MS.
[7] *qui*] quod, MS.

"pit, hac actione tenetur. Aliud esse autem rapi, "aliud amoveri [palam est, si quidem amoveri] ali- "quid etiam sine vi possit; rapi autem sine vi non "potest." Et iterum: "Ne quid ex naufragiis diri- "piatur vel ne quis extraneus interveniat colligendis "eis, multifariam prospectum est. Nam et divus "Hadrianus edicto præcepit, ut qui terras juxta litora "maris possident scirent, si quando navis vel infixa "vel fracta intra finem agri cujusque fuerit, ne nau- "fragia diripiant, in ipsos judicia præsides his qui "res suas direptas queruntur reddituros, ut quicquid "probaverint ademptum sibi naufragio, id a posses- "soribus recipiant. De his autem, quos diripuisse "probatum sit, præsidem ut de latronibus gravem "sententiam dicere; et quo facilior[1] sit probatio hujus- "modi admissi, permisit eis, quicquid passos se hujus- "modi queruntur, adire præfectos et apud eos tes- "tari reosque petere, ut pro modo culpæ vel vincti "vel sub fidejussoribus ad præsidem mittantur. A "domino quoque possessionis in qua id admissum "dicatur satis accipi,[2] ne cognitioni desit, præcipitur. "Sed nec intervenire naufragiis colligendis aut mili- "tem aut privatum aut liberum servumque principis "placere sibi ait senatus."

Ibid., tit. 9. 7.

Ancient laws of the English as to wrecks.

In antiquis etiam Anglorum legibus ab aliquo sanctorum, ut credimus, regum, de quibus infra dicetur, constitutis, major[3] æquitas, cum tamen illa maxima fuerit, reperitur. Statutum enim fuerat quod, si unus de naufragio evaserit, etiam pauperrimus, et navem et totum quod ad terram venerit et quod salvari poterit solus obtinebit[4]; item si nullus evaserit, hæredibus naufragorum, si comparuerat, totum restituetur. f. 105.

Inhumanity of the modern practice.

Nostris tamen diebus, tam Angliæ quam Walliæ necnon et Hiberniæ maritimis finibus, longe aliter

[1] *facilior*] facili, MS.
[2] *accipi*] accepi, MS.
[3] *major*] major est, MS.
[4] *obtinebit*] obtinebatur, MS.

fieri vidimus,[1] non solum in terris principum et laicorum, verum, quod est[2] exemplo perniciosius, episcoporum et ordinis ecclesiastici prælatorum; ubi nave scilicet vi tempestatis ad saxa collisa vel etiam sabulo infixa, quanquam integra fere tota salvisque plerumque personis cunctisque et possessionibus, quia non ad portum veniens desideratum, vel quia non adeo prospere ut volebant, statim ab accolis prædonibusque crudelissimis, tanquam ad prædam undique concurrentibus, omnia rapi, distrahi et dissipari. Sed quæ major atrocitas vel aviditas, vel potius quæ major inhumanitas, quam afflictos sic affligere, et, quos humana mansuetudine et misericordia magis a periculis extrahere et juvare deberent, miseros et nil male meritos sic spoliare? Digni sunt ergo prædones hujusmodi judicio sine misericordia, qui non fecerunt misericordiam, immo qui tantam in innocuos exercuere malitiam et immisericordiam; et afflictos sic affligentes digni revera sunt duplici, quinimmo multiplici, tribulatione puniri.

Nota bene.

Roman laws as to jetison and wrecking.

De jactura navium naufragis restituenda.

Item et piorum imperatorum emanavit auctoritate, ut etiam earum rerum quæ in tempestate maris levandæ navis causa ejiciuntur non amittatur dominium. Non enim eas quis eo animo abjecit quod habere nolit, sed quod periculum effugere possit. Unde et qui res ipsas lucrandi animo abstulerit furtum committit, ut Digesto "de veteri jure enucleando." Item et in sequentibus: "Ne piscatores nocte lumine ostenso[3] "fallant navigantes, quasi in portum aliquem delaturi, eoque modo in periculo "naves et eos qui in eis sunt deducant "sibique execrandam prædam parent,[4] "præsidis provinciæ religiosa constantia "efficiat."

Digest., lib. xlvii. tit. 9. 10.

Ut per lumen navigantes nocte decipientes graviter puniantur.

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[1] *vidimus*] et vidimus, MS.
[2] *quod est*] est quod, MS.
[3] *ostenso*] offenso, MS.
[4] *parent*] darent, MS.

Item ut secundum leges vivere debeant imperatores, licet legibus non astricti. Eodem, "de legibus et constitutionibus et edictis": "Digna vox majestate regnantis est legibus alligatum se principem confiteri. "Adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet auctoritas, "et revera majus est imperio submittere legibus principatum, et oraculo præsentis edicti quod nobis licere "non patimur hoc aliis indicamus." Inde, quoniam viri principales æquitatem in omnibus et justitiam tanto opere conservare studebant et constitutiones ad hoc promulgare, dictum Tiberii Romani imperatoris quinquagesimi quarti, cum filiam suam Constantiam Mauricio genere Cappadoco simul cum imperio nuptui dedisset, hic recolendum: "Sit," inquit, "tibi imperium "meum cum hac puella concessum. Utere ergo eo "feliciter, et habe in mente incessanter æquitatem et "justitiam præcipua optimi imperatoris "esse insignia." O quanta principis et quam felix gloria, quia tam laude mundana quam etiam mercede digna divina, cum inter divitias humilis aurum et algam æquiparando, terrena quippe quibus abundat vilia et transitoria reputando eaque tanquam commodata et commendata, vel etiam tempus modicum precario concessa, bene et provide dispensando et bonis operibus ac meritoriis jugiter insistendo, sic demum toto desiderio transire cupit per hæc temporalia, ut felici commercio consequatur æterna. Proinde quod de heremita quodam legitur, quem fama sanctitatis Gregorii papæ Romam traxerat, hic apponere dignum duxi. Cum enim die quodam festo, processione cardinalium et cleri procedente tam pomposa, papam vidisset tam pontificalibus quam etiam imperialibus ornamentis insignitum cum tanta, ut videbatur, gloria subsecutum, reversus ad locum suum cum ea nocte plenus cogitatione et admiratione super his quæ viderat, utrum

The Roman emperors amenable to the laws.

Quod legibus etiam alligari principes debent.

Cod. Just., lib. i. tit. 14. 4.

Noble sentiment of the emperor Tiberius II.

f. 105 *b*.

Nota æquitatem et justitiam præcipua esse imperatoris insignia.

Story of St. Gregory and a hermit.

scilicet cum tanta excellentia et gloria regnare posset humilitas, obdormisset, vocem in somnis hunc versum modulantem audivit:

"Pluris habes catum quam præsul pontificatum."

Habebat enim bonus vir ille catum, cum quo quandoque ludendo post manuum labores et orationes se recreare solebat. Sicut ergo divitiæ, si extollentiam præbeant atque superbiam, viam accelerant ad Gehennam, sic humilitatem in his servantibus eisque bene utentibus et modeste,[1] ut Abraham[2] quondam, David et Job et in Ægipto Joseph, grandem absque dubio materiam præstant et præparant ad coronam.

Good princes and prelates have their reward.

Quod principes boni sicut et prælati more virginum et martyrum centesimum fructum afferunt.

Unde quemadmodum prælati boni, pastores scilicet et prædicatores, centesimum fructum afferunt, sicut virgines et martyres duplicem, quippe merendo coronam auream scilicet pro salute propria et aureolam pro lucro apportato et salute multorum, sic et principes[3] boni in eminenti specula positi, qui multos, etsi non verbo, longe efficacius tamen suæ bonitatis ad salutem instruunt et informant exemplo, non minori corona gaudere merentur. Talium itaque principum et talia merentium, tam de veteri lege quam nova, nec non et nostri temporis quorundam, majoris evidentiæ causa hic exempla proponere et, quæ dicta sunt supra diffusius, hic quasi sub epilogo succincte repetere, nec inutilem etiam additionem facere, præter rem non putavi. Recolat itaque lector in primis quod Moyses super omnes homines qui morabantur in terra mitissimus erat et in omni dono Domini fidelissimus, cui Dominus ore ad os palam et non per ænigmata loquebatur. Item de rege David qui, imitator ejus effectus et ex omnibus ad regendam plebem electus, quam mitis et blandus et quam mansuetus,

Examples of such.

De principibus bene meritis et laude dignissimis.

Moses.

David.

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[1] *modeste*] modestie, MS.
[2] *Abraham*] habrae, MS.
[3] *principes*] princeps, MS.

humilis spiritu, sedulus corde, facilis affectu; de quo demum hujusmodi Dei sententia processit, "Inveni "virum secundum cor meum." Item qualiter tam Ezechias quam Josias præ cunctis cæteris excelsa dissipavit, statuas contrivit, et lucos succidit; serpentem etiam æneum, quem fecerat Moyses in deserto et quem filii Israel adhuc colebant, eique incensum adolebant, confregit Ezechias et ex toto delevit. De quorum etiam utroque tanta commendatio prodiit, quod nec similis illi fuerit de cunctis regibus Juda, neque surrexerit post eum similis illi. Sed qualiter tamen venerit David vel præferendus vel etiam comparandus, uter etiam eorum alteri sit præponendus, supra in capitulo de principibus electis evidenter explanatum lector inveniet.

f. 106.

Hezekiah and Josiah.

Ad quatuor quoque principes Romanos, Octavianum, Titum et Vespasianum, necnon et Trajanum, cum de bonis hic mentio fiat, lector respiciat, quibus quidem nec sævitiam nec oculorum extollentiam vel potentia tanta vel divitiæ tantæ dederunt; propter quod pie credi potest quia, si tempore gratiæ revelatæ forte fuissent et fidei salutaris, gratia inspirante, fundamentum habuissent, pietas eos et mansuetudo cum cætera virtutum turba quibus præcellebant exstirpatis vitiis magnos Deo reddidissent. Constantini quoque Magni, in Britannia majore imperium assecuti et ex Helena matre de Britannia quoque stirpe progeniti, constantiam lector recolat et clementiam. Qui primus prope modum imperatorum omnium Christi fidem suscepit, et sacro baptismi lavacro tam exteriore lepra quam etiam interiore purgari meruit; qui et primus omnium ac præcipuus Christi ecclesiam plus honoravit et exaltavit, plus ditavit et dotavit, plus etiam per orbem universum dilatavit. Theodosii quoque principis egregii et imperatoris orthodoxi mansuetudinem recolat et devotionem bonique pastoris et non mercenarii patris Ambrosii; qui tam humiliter correptionem admisit et ob stragem Thessalonicam, tam laudabili

The emperors Octavian, Vespasian, Titus, and Trajan.

Constantine.

Theodosius.

in tanto principe patientia, et sententiæ vindicis molem sustinuit et devotissime onus impositum pœnitentiale suscepit; qualiter etiam templa dæmonum, quæ Constantinus inaccessibilia quidem esse præceperat, non ea tamen everti fecerat, sed sacrificia in eis fieri districte interdixerat, everti funditus fecit et deleri. Usque ad hujus etenim Theodosii Magni tempora per Julianum apostatam, qui et dæmonibus sacrificabat et sacrificari compellebat, et Valentem hæreticum, qui omnibus Romani imperii gentibus ut religiones suas ad libitum colerent concessit, solum illos impugnans qui Arriana dogmata non suscipiebant, renovata nequitia et recidiva ac rediviva malitia, idolis atque dæmo-
f. 106 b. nibus multi devii et erronei sacrificabant et ad aras eorum ignem accendebant, sed publicas etiam populi festivitates per plateas agendo, orgia tam Bacchi quam Dionysii denuo celebrabant et canes eviscerantes cum sacris currebant furentes atque bacchantes cunctaque facientes quæ nequitia vel erroris antiqui vel etiam furoris proprii miserorum mentibus insinuabat. Sed Catholicus hic imperator per totum imperium publicis edictis hæc omnia condemnavit et ab imperio radicitus exstirpavit.

Cf. p. 93, above.

The emperor Maurice.

De imperatore Mauricio, qui potius temporaliter puniri petiit et obtinuit, quam vel in purgatorio vel Gehennaliter.

Mauricii quoque, primo de Græcorum prosapia imperium assecuti, devotam lector attendat providentiam, qui temporalibus affligi pœnis potius quam Gehennalibus fine carentibus aut etiam purgationis ignibus, quanquam non perennibus, gravissimis tamen et urentissimis, reservari piis et assiduis precibus impetravit et tam suo quam suorum sanguine mundanas maculas et mendas meruit in terris expiare.

Pipin and Charles the Great.

De Francorum regibus Pipino et Karolo.

Et ut longe propius exempla petamus, tam Pippini regis quam filii ejusdem Karoli pia quoque recolenda devotio est, quorum uterque ecclesiæ militavit; cujus etiam auctoritate pater de Præfecto Palatii in Regem Francorum exaltatus, filius autem de Rege in Imperatorem est

sublimatus. Karoli quoque Tutidis, Karoli regis et imperatoris avi et Pipini patris, qui duobus bellis difficillimis Saracenos, qui[1] de Africa in Hispaniam de Hispania in Gasconiam et Aquitanniam cuncta devastantes irruperunt, egregia virtute et magna cum strage debellavit, merito memoria[2] inter principes electos non esset reticenda, si non occasione bellorum res ecclesiasticæ a laicis occupatæ illorum ex parte fuissent[3] et ad usque in hodiernum exstent alienatæ.

Charles Martel.

De Karolo Magno.

Virtues of Charles the Great.

Karoli quoque Magni imperatoris recolenda sunt gesta, præcipue et maxime in basilicarum per regni amplitudinem et imperii constructione, reparatione, exornatione, et multiplici ditatione, et tam[4] devota largitio et, quod cæteris præstare videtur, cursu vitæ suæ felici jam fine claudendo, thesaurorum suorum et gazarum omnium testamento legitimo per metropoles imperii sui, quas Alquinus[5] numerat et nominat viginti et unam, et earundem ecclesias suffraganeas, per cœnobia et xenodochia, necnon et pauperum sustentationes, tam pia et tam provida distributio et rerum denique cunctarum tam discreta tamque devota partitio.

De Lucio, primo Britonum rege, Christi fide insignito.

Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons.

Egregia quoque Lucii regis Britonum gesta ad memoriam sunt revocanda, ubi, missis Romam nuntiis, ab Eleutherio[6] papa mitti[7] sibi prælatos et prædicatores, quin immo et fidei Christi plantatores, impetravit. Missi sunt igitur ei duo viri spiritu Dei et gratia perfusi, Faganus scilicet et Duvianus, qui, statim ad prima eorundem monita rege converso, per totam insulam a mari usque ad mare fidem Christi plantaverunt. Istud autem ducentis et eo amplius annorum curriculis ante adventum Saxonum in insulam factum fuerat. Unde et occupato postmodum a

Faganus and Duvianus sent to him by pope Eleutherius.

f. 107.

[1] *qui*] om. MS.
[2] *memoria*] memoriam, MS.
[3] *fuissent*] fuisset, MS.
[4] *et tam*] ne tam, MS.
[5] The reference is to Eginhard, cap. 33.
[6] *Eleutherio*] Eulencherio, MS.
[7] *mitti*] initi, MS.

After the Saxon conquest the faith was preserved by the Britains in the west.

Saxonibus regno Britannico, proditionibus, ut asserunt historiæ, multis et perjuriis crebris destitutis ecclesiis et dirutis—undique paganismi,[1] nimirum spurcitia totam regni fere superficiem contaminante—reliquiæ Britonum, quæ in occiduis insulæ finibus se propter locorum munitiones susceperant, fidem Christi susceptam et documenta catholica continue semper et inconcusse[2] servaverunt. Unde et ecclesiæ nonnullæ intra Kambriæ spatium, quæ hodie adulterino vocabulo Wallia dicitur, nominibus prædictorum, Fagani scilicet et Duviani, fundatæ inveniuntur et dedicatæ. Britonum enim hi duo apostoli fuerunt, papa Eleutherio auctoritatem[3] impertiente, sicut quadringentis postmodum annis elapsis et pluribus Augustinus monachus et socii Anglorum apostoli fuerunt a Gregorio papa magno ecclesiæ doctore et pastore transmissi.

Churches in Wales named after Faganus and Duvianus, who were the apostles of the Britons, as Augustine of the Saxons.

De Augustino monacho ad Anglos transmisso.

Discovery of the tomb of king Arthur and Guinevere at Glastonbury.

De rege Arthuro nostris diebus invento.[4]

Arthuri quoque Britonum regis inclyti memoria est non supprimenda, quem monasterii Glastoniensis[5] egregii, cujus et ipse patronus suis diebus fuerat præcipuus et largitor ac sublevator magnificus, historiæ multum extollunt. Præ cunctis enim ecclesiis regni sui sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ Glastoniensem ecclesiam plus dilexit et præ cæteris longe majori devotione promovit. Unde cum vir bellator exstiterit, in anteriori parte clipei sui Beatæ Virginis imaginem interius, ut eam in conflictu præ oculis semper haberet, depingi fecerat; cujus et pedes, quoties positus in congressionis

De imagine beatæ Mariæ in ejus clipeo depicta.[6]

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[1] *paganismi*] paganissimi, MS.

[2] *inconcusse*] concusse, MS.

[3] *auctoritatem*] auctoritate, MS.

[4] The same story, but differently worded, appears in the author's *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, Dist. ii. capp. 8–10 (vol. iv. p. 47). The version here is copied from Giraldus by Higden, lib. vii. cap. 23 (vol. viii. p. 60), and from Higden by Knighton, cap. 12 (Rolls ed., p. 149). See also Leland's "Asser-" tio Arthuri," in his *Collectanea*, ed. 1774, vol. v. pp. 42–52.

[5] *Glastoniensis*] Glasconiensis, MS., and so throughout.

[6] *depicta*] depictam, MS.

articulo fuerat, deosculari cum plurima devotione consueverat.

De corpore Arthuri apud Glastoniam.

Hujus autem corpus, quod quasi phantasticum in fine, et tanquam per spiritus ad longinqua translatum, neque morti obnoxium fabulæ confinxerant, his nostris diebus apud Glastoniam inter lapideas[1] pyramides duas, in cœmiterio sacro quondam erectas, profundius in terra quercu concava reconditum, et signatum miris indiciis et quasi miraculosis, est inventum, et in ecclesiam cum honore translatum marmoreoque decenter tumulo commendatum. Unde et crux plumbea lapide supposito, non superius ut [nostris] solet diebus,[2] [sed] inferiori potius ex parte infixa, quam nos quoque vidimus, namque tractavimus litteras has insculptas et non eminentes et exstantes, sed magis interius ad lapidem versas, continebat: "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus cum Wen-" neuereia vxore sua secunda in insula Auallonia."

De cruce plumbea.

Occurrunt hic autem notabilia plurima; habuerat enim uxores duas, quarum ultima simul cum ipso sepulta fuerat, et ossa ipsius cum ossibus viri simul inventa, sic distincta tamen, ut duæ partes sepulchri, versus caput scilicet, ossibus viri continendis deputatæ fuissent, tertia vero versus pedes ossa muliebria seorsum contineret; ubi et trica comæ muliebris flava cum integritate pristina et colore reperta fuit, quam ut monachus quidam avide manu arripuit et sublevavit, tota statim in pulverem decidit. Cum autem aliqua indicia corporis ibi inveniendi ex scripturis suis, aliqua ex litteris pyramidibus impressis, quanquam nimia plurimum antiquitate deletis, aliqua quoque per visiones et revelationes bonis viris et religiosis factas, maxime tamen

f. 107 *b*.

A monk handles a lock of the queen's hair, which crumbles into dust.

De trica muliebri a monacho rapta.

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[1] *lapideas*] lapides, MS.

[2] *diebus*] debus, or debet, MS.

et evidentissime rex Angliæ Henricus secundus, sicut ab historico cantore Britone audierat antiquo, totum monachis indicavit, quod profunde, scilicet in terra per xvi. pedes ad minus, corpus invenirent, et non [in] lapideo tumulo sed in quercu cavata. Ideoque tam profunde situm corpus, et quasi absconditum fuerat, ne a Saxonibus post necem ipsius insulam occupantibus, quos tanto opere vivens debellaverat et fere ex toto deleverat, posset nullatenus inveniri; et ob hoc etiam litteræ, veritatis indices, cruci[1] impressæ interius ad lapidem versæ fuerunt, ut et tunc temporis quod continebat occultarent, et quandoque tamen pro locis et temporibus id propalarent.

Nota.

Reasons for the mode of burial.

Glastonbury formerly called the isle of Avalon and Inis-Gutrin.

Unde dicta fuerit insula Avallonia.

Quæ nunc autem Glastonia dicitur, antiquitus insula Avallonia dicebatur. Est enim quasi insula tota paludibus obsita, unde dicta est Britannice Inis Avallon,[2] id est, *insula pomifera*. Pomis enim, quæ *aval* Britannica lingua dicuntur, locus ille quondam abundabat. Unde et Morganis, nobilis matrona et partium illarum dominatrix atque patrona, necnon et Arthuro regi sanguine propinqua, post bellum de Kemelen Arthurum ad sanandum ejusdem vulnera in insulam quæ nunc Glastonia dicitur deportavit. Dicta quoque quondam Britannice Inis gutrin[3] fuerat, hoc est, *insula vitrea*; ex quo vocabulo supervenientes postea Saxones locum illum *Glastingeburi* vocitabant. Glas enim lingua eorum *vitrum* sonat, et buri *castrum*, *civitas* appellatur.

Nota.

Unde Glastonia dicta.

Huge size of Arthur's bones.

De ossium[4] Arthuri magnitudine, vulneribusque plurimis in capite.

Sciendum etiam quod ossa reperta corporis Arthuri tam grandia fuerunt, ut et illud poetæ completum in his videri posset:

Virg., Georg. i. 497.

"Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

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[1] *cruci*] crucis, MS.

[2] *Inis Avallon*] emin avallon, MS.

[3] *Inis gutrin*] eius gutrin, MS.

[4] *De ossium*] Unde officium, MS.

Os enim tibiæ ipsius appositum [tibiæ] longissimi viri loci, quem et nobis abbas ostendit, et juxta pedem illius terræ affixum, large tribus digitis trans genu ipsius se porrexit. Os etiam capitis tanquam ad prodigium vel ostentum capax erat et grossum, adeo ut intercilium et inter oculos spatium palmalem amplitudinem large contineret. Apparebant autem in hoc vulnera decem aut plura, quæ cuncta præter unum majus cæteris, quod hiatum grandem fecerat, quodque solum letale fuisse videbatur, in solidam convenerant cicatricem.

Wounds on the skull.

f. 108.

Qualiter Saxones proditores et perjuri, nec pœnitendo nec occupata restituendo, postmodo effecti sunt.

Porro de Saxonibus regnum occupantibus, quod absque stupore non recolimus, digna memoratu quædam occurrunt. In quibus vehementer admirandum quod super tam vitiosum fundamentum, cunctis quippe per proditiones et perjuria turpiter actis et adauctis, laudabiliter fieri potuit ædificium; et si violentis prædonibus [et] fraudulentis dimissa sint peccata, ubi nec pœnitentia subsecuta nec ablata sunt restituta, verumtamen de gentibus eisdem tempore procedente rex Eadmundus pro Christi fide vita terrena privatus, sed et æterna felici commutatione donatus, et rex Oswaldus martyrio lavisse similiter crimina visus. Quorum unius caput vociferando se miraculo se quærentibus indicavit; alterius autem manus munifica pauperi Christi miserta, episcopali quoque benedictione secuta, putredini nequaquam obnoxia, permanere promeruit incorrupta.

The kingdom of the Saxons founded on violence and fraud.

King Edmund and king Oswald.

De rege Edwardo, et fure comperto indemnique remisso.

Penultimi quoque regis Anglorum, Edwardi Westmonasteriensis, vita laudabilis et gestorum præconia non reticenda. Hic etenim, virginalem pudicitiam a pueritia servans et uxorem habens tanquam sororem, tantæ mansuetudinis erat tantæque patientiæ pariter et innocentiæ, quod, cum nocte quadam cameram fur intrasset et ad lectum regis accedens vestes

Edward the Confessor.

Story of the thief in his bedchamber.

superiores et coopertorium jam extraxisset, rex vigilans et in orationibus ex more jugiter existens, "Vade "nunc," inquit, "cum his quæ portas et accelera, "priusquam Hugelinus evigilet"—erat enim hoc camerario nomen —, et sic præmunitus a rege cum præda miser indemnis evasit. Maluit enim pii principis clementia cameram in possessione, quam furem in persona, damnum incurrere; et sic dispensatione laudabili, qui universitatis injurias justitiæ trutina regalique potentia quotidie vindicabat, propriam tamen injuriam, quoniam occultam, potius dissimulandam censuit quam vindicandam.

Orders the Danegeld to be remitted.

Item et aliud principis ejusdem factum memoratu dignum reputo. Cum enim contra Dacorum et Norwagiencium irruptiones in insulas navigio crebras, compulsus a suis et valde invitus, gravem per totum regnum exactionem et collectam, quæ lingua eorum Daneglit dici solet, quasi contra Dacos collectam, quorum repentinus tunc temporis formidabatur adventus, fieri fecisset, monitu suorum pecuniam ut coadunatam cerneret accessit. Et statim super acervum argenteum et tumulum congestæ pecuniæ grandem datum est ei diabolum in forma horribili assumpta sedentem et tanquam suam occupantem corporeis oculis intueri. Quo viso, fecit archiepiscopos et episcopos regni sui necnon et proceres convocari, quibus et hoc ostenso, protinus per ministros, vicecomites et ballivos provinciarum omnium singulis singula quibus extorta fuerant, nihil inde prorsus sibi retinendo, restitui fecit universa.

Nota. De diabolo super pecuniæ cumulum viso.

f. 108 *b*.

Has a vision at mass of the drowning of the Danish king.

Item et illud ejusdem non retinendum, sed magis summis præconiis efferendum. Cum enim post tam laudabile tantæ misericordiæ factum die quodam sollemni apud Westmonasterium Londoniis divinis obsequiis, celebrante archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, rex interesset, circiter canonem præter solitum, puta qui

devotis in orationibus tali hora circa conversionem esse consueverat, post somnolentiam modicam cum evigilasset, cœpit subridere. Quod cum vidisset vir bonus et fidelis eique familiaris Edwinus comes, ex opposito sedens, sed intentos ad dominum suum, quem diligebat, oculos habens, post Missam ad ipsum accedens et causam rei visæ secretius inquirens, convocato ad hoc archiepiscopo et episcopis magnisque viris tam sæcularibus quam ecclesiasticis, tale responsum a rege suscepit, quod vidit ea hora regem Daciæ coadunata classe innumera, ut in Angliam veniret, cum ad navem deferretur in scafa, inter utramque pelago dilapsum et submersum, et sic ipsum ejusque regnum per Dei nutum, qui suos in necessitate non deserit, sed semper sperantibus in se benignus existit, ab hostili fuisse[1] invasione tanta liberatum. Notatis itaque die simul et hora diei, infra breve tempus nautæ de partibus illis et nuntii advenire rei eventum talem veris relationibus indicantes. Sic itaque rex Edwardus super pauperum inopiis misericorditer motus pacem et tranquillitatem regni sui, quam obtinere per exactiones et rapinas tam vehementer est abominatus, toto postmodum vitæ suæ tempore per misericordiam Dei adeptus; ruinam autem hostis tantæque classis tam subitam undique dispersionem, vel dispersionem vel per expressam visionis vel potius spiritualis intellectus ostensionem, sicut spiritus Helyæ cum Giezi fuerat, datum est divinitus longe prospicere et intueri.

Nota.

The vision confirmed by the event.

Ut autem ad moderna tempora regnaque vicina propius accedamus, Christianissimi Francorum regis et nostro tempore feliciter regnantis Lodowici, patris scilicet regis Philippi sub quo Normannorum in Neustria evanuit gloria, gesta quædam memoratu digna recolemus. Dictus itaque rex Lodowicus, cum in castri

Louis VII. of France.

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[1] *fuisse*] fuerat, MS.

Anecdote of his continence.

cujusdam Burgundiæ finibus expugnatione, peregrinis et viatoribus infestissimi, cui nomen Nunenta,[1] duobus

De regis Lodowici continentia laudabili.

fere mensibus expeditionem pertraxisset, reversus[2] Aurelianis gravi morbo et fere desperato decubuit. Cujus cum medici, tam proprii quam undique confluentes, causas ægritudinis subtilius inquisissent, tandem in hoc omnes convenerunt quod ex longa continentia et defectu coitus

f. 109. incommodum ei illud acciderat; erat enim hoc circa prima tempora quibus reginam, scilicet Alam nomine, duxerat, de qua postea Philippum regem susceperat, quam non mediocriter diligebat. Hoc igitur ei exposito coram urbis ejusdem episcopo, abbatibus quoque et prioribus, personis quoque plurimis ac viris religionem habitu præferentibus ad hoc adductis, incontinenti rex respondit, "Mittatur ergo propter reginam." Sed quia in remotis tunc forte fuerat abinde partibus et morbus instabat, consilium omnium in commune fuerat quod puella ei aliqua interim, qua sibi remedium compararet et quasi vitam redimeret, adduceretur. Quod cum ei proponerent, hanc solam fore curam ejus asserentes, episcopus etiam et personæ quæ aderant omnes peccati impunitatem ei promitterent et erga Deum super hoc se sponsores darent, respondit vir bonus, "Si non est alia quam hæc valetudinis hujus "cura, faciat de me Dominus voluntatem suam, quia "malo mori castus quam vivere adulter." Et sic Deo totum committens, ejusdem miseratione, qui non derelinquit sperantes in se, brevi convalescens remedio divinitus dato morbi malitiam exsuperavit. O quam sanum, quam salutiferum, memoratuque dignissimum, principis verbum!

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[1] *Nunenta*] iumenta, MS. The place meant is probably Nonette, near Issoire, in Auvergne, besieged by Louis in 1169 (Bouquet, xiv. p. 466, xvi. p. 148, note). Both this story of Louis VII. and that below (p. 133) are in the author's *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (vol. ii. p. 216).

[2] *reversus*] reversis, MS.

Cui simillimum quoque postmodum nepotis ejusdem ex filio, et ab avi tanti natura laudabili non degenerantis, eulogium fuit. Cum enim Lodowicus, Philippi regis filius, in expugnatione Anglicana moram aliquamdiu pertraxisset, militesque sui verentes, ne propter uxoris absentiam, quæ in Francia fuerat, et conjugalis thori carentiam juvenilis animus longam expeditionem fastidio duceret, ei vel joco vel serio quandoque dixissent quod alicujus interim puellæ nobilis amplexibus naturam suam confortaret calideque virentis juventæ fervorem tali remedio temperaret, fertur illico respondisse responsumque suum sacramento firmasse, quia propter totum Angliæ regnum sibi quiete possidendum et ex toto pacificatum fidem sponsæ suæ legitimæ debitam nollet nullatenus, licet unico adulterio, violasse. Non ergo degener[1] hic nepos, qui tam avi benignitatem, quam patris quoque strenuitatem, verbis et factis expressis et certis indiciis repræsentavit.

Similar conduct of Louis VIII. when in England [A.D. 1216].

Nota.

De alio Lodowici facto egregio et litteris in ignem missis.

Item aliud quoque memorati principis ejusdem factum egregium hic inserere dignum duxi. Reversus a curia Romana familiaris ejusdem clericus, cum ibi[2] cuncta negotia bene peracta regi significasset, ex abundanti, ut fidelis principi videretur, ostendit privilegium quo cathedralium ecclesiarum vacantium in regno suo custodiam ei habere et fructus interim percipere, canonicasque et ecclesias, necnon et ecclesiasticas dignitates, quas vacare contigerit, ad nutum dare, summus Pontifex indulgebat. Quo rex audito litteras a manu portitoris arreptas statim in ignem misit, dicens de aliis negotiis effectui mancipatis ipsum ei, sicut decebat, gratum existere, super hoc autem negotio, vel alio quovis, quod ad animæ suæ periculum vergat, impetrato, nec a Deo nec ab ipso grates habiturum;

Louis VII. burns papal letters allowing him to enjoy the fruits of vacant sees, &c.

f. 109 *b*.

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[1] *degener*] deneger, MS. | [2] *ibi*] in, MS.

dicens etiam et asserens se malle litteras igne comburere quam animam suam occasione litterarum illarum perpetuis Gehennæ flammis comburendam relinquere.

He fasts every Friday on bread and water.

De regis Lodevici abstinentia laudabili.

Item mos principis ejusdem erat, quod omni sexta feria in pane solum et aqua jejunabat; propter quod sæpius a suis monitus, majoribus scilicet domus regiæ palatiique præfectis et cæteris magnis viris, ut tale jejunium, cibariis et potu plenius utendo propter corporis sui valetudinem robustiorem, de cujus nimirum salute regni totius salus plurimum pendebat, saniori consilio solveretur et in compensationem pauperes centum vel ducenti aut plures pascerentur, respondere consueverat: "Pauperes quidem de quibus vel quot "mentionem fecistis volumus ut pascantur; jejunium "tamen nostrum solvere nolumus, quia, etsi non prop"ter Deum animæque salutem, propter corporis tamen "commodum hanc abstinentiam facere deberemus. "Tantum namque superfluitatis stomacho nostro per "totam hebdomadam ingerimus, quod multum unius "diei quies absque dubio confert tam ad appetitum "excitandum, quam etiam ad sanitatem corporis con"servandum. Ideoque et abstinentiam istam non cor"pori minus quam animæ medicinalem, cum et corpus "nostrum diligatis, et animam amplius diligere debe"retis, nos facere de cætero non impediatis nec dis"suadere quod non expedit præsumatis."

His vision of the triumph of his son.

De regis Lodovici lacrimis et visione eidem non longe post ostensa.

Item et hoc de eodem notabile censui, quod in ultimo colloquio inter ipsum et Anglorum regem Henricum secundum habito gestum fuit, sicut in principio tertiæ Distinctionis de ruina principis cujusdam et ignominia expresse continetur, ubi rex Lodowicus, enumeratis demum injuriis sibi ab Anglorum rege illatis, causas revocatorias Deo scilicet et hæredi suo adhuc puero et baronibus coronæ cum lacrymis

commisit. Quas quidem justus Dominus ab oculis Christianissimi principis tam pie et tam juste productas vacuas esse non permisit; parum enim ante obitum suum, quid futurum postea per hæredem suum fuerat, evidenter ei per visionem ostensum fuit. Videbatur[1] enim sibi videre, collectis in præsentia sua tam Anglorum rege quam baronibus regni Franciæ majoribus cunctis, filium et hæredem suum Philippum procedentem in medium, et baronibus per ordinem, qui jura coronæ suæ detinebant, humanum sanguinem in cipho f. 110. aureo propinantem, incipientem quoque a stirpe materna, Blesensibus scilicet avunculis suis, et duce Burgundiæ, necnon et matre propria Blesensium sorore, et sic per comitem Flandriæ Philippum consequenter transeundo, poculum usque ad Anglorum denique regem Henricum producentem. Mira quidem visio, quoniam eodem ordine quo visus est eis potum illum sanguineum[2] propinasse, defuncto in brevi patre, singulos seriatim invasit, et jura coronæ contra tot et tantos detentores tam viriliter etiam in tenera ætate, quoniam Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem, revocavit; tanquam in illos qui[3] pia patris lenitate et mansuetudine nimis insolenter et infideliter abusi fuerant filius a Domino vindex datus, sicut in subscripta libri Distinctione tertia plene poterit inveniri.

Virtues of Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne.

De comitis Theobaldi devotione et erga leprosos præcipua largitione.

Ad hæc autem de comite Campaniæ Theobaldo Blesensi primo, et regis Anglorum Henrici primi ex sorore nepote,[4] aliqua memoratu digna dicemus. Erat enim vir iste religiosus ac pius et in pauperum quoque sustentatione conspicuus, dominique sui, de quo diximus, regis optimi Lodowici laudabilis æmulator effectus. Hic inter cætera pietatis opera

[1] *Videbatur . . . vindex datus*] Repeated below, Dist. III. cap. 1.

[2] *sanguineum*] sanguinem, MS.

[3] *qui*] quia, MS.

[4] Son of Stephen, count of Blois, by Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror.

præcipua leprosis terræ suæ caritativa libenter largitione subveniebat; inter quos unum extra suburbium Carnotense[1] per spatium aliquod et eleemosynis suis sustentabat et partes illas adveniens provida[2] devotione visitabat. Unde cum illuc eum quandoque venire contingeret, sero et quasi in crepusculo descendens ut pauperem suum visitaret, ad casam ejus accessit; cui pulsanti ad ostium pauper aperuit, multas inter cætera gratias ei super impensam[3] sibi caritatem referens Deumque precibus devotis ad retributionem invitans; comitem etiam rogans quatinus præposito villæ, cujus eum curæ commendaverat, quia benignus ei fuerat, gratus existeret. Demum autem post sermones plurimos rogavit comitem et impetravit, quatinus ipsum in equo suo secum ad villam, ut diutius interim ei loqui posset, causa Dei deportaret. Quod cum factum fuisset, multaque obiter[4] ab ipso verba[5] bona monitaque salutis audiisset, descendente coram palatio comite, leprosus iste diligenter requisitus nusquam comparuit. Comes autem cum accersito majore, scilicet præposito suo, rem ei gestam indicaret, et qualiter etiam curam ejus erga ipsum collaudaverat, admirans ille vehementer et obstupescens illum de quo loquebatur jam mense fere transacto pro certo mortuum fuisse et sepultum asserebat. Unde et comitem hæsitantem super his et credere non valentem, testibus adhibitis qui exequiis et
f. 110 b. sepulturæ secum intererant, ad sepulchrum etiam eum in crastino mane deduxit. Unde et comitem hunc defunctum laudibus plusquam humanis, quoniam hyperbolicis, quidam sic efferendo versiculos hos emisit:

"Ille comes[6] comes ille pius Theobaldus erat, quem
"Gaudet habere polus, terra carere dolet.

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[1] *Carnotense*] Cartonense, MS.
[2] *provida*] ed. Brewer; pro vita, MS.
[3] *impensam*] impensa, MS.
[4] *obiter*] obitum, MS.
[5] *verba*] verbo, MS.
[6] *comes*] Interlined by a late hand. Bouquet and Brewer give the couplet thus:
"Ille pius Theobaldus erat, quem
"gaudet habere
"In cœlis polus, terra carere
"dolet."

" Non hominem possum, non audeo dicere numen;
" Mors probat hunc hominem, vita fuisse deum.
" Trans hominem citraque deum, plus hoc, minus
" illo,
" Nescio quis; neuter, inter utrumque fuit."

Quod autem præter cæteras ejusdem virtutes in pauperum sustentationibus tam benignus fuerat et tam munificus, visus est etiam in terris a Domino ex parte fuisse remuneratus. Præter hoc etenim quod feliciter et tranquille vixit terrasque suas tantas tam pacifice rexit, filiorum quoque[1] suorum et prolis fortunam patris felicitas fœcundavit, adeo ut tres filios suos primævos[2] de terris quas ipse possederat post ejus decessum comites fieri procuraret; quartus autem natuque junior, paterna providentia litteris addictus et clericatui datus, primum in Carnotensem[3] episcopum est promotus, deinde in Senonensem archiepiscopum, demum autem in Remensem est sublimatus. Filias autem suas, cum primævas tres vel quatuor in vita comitibus, ducibus, tam in Burgundia regali quam imperii quoque finibus, magnis et[4] præpotentibus viris nuptui dedisset, junior[5] omnium, quam moriens modicam cum fratribus reliquerat et innuptam, Francorum regi, de quo scripsimus, postea nupsit Lodovico, de qua et præter spem, Deo propter utriusque, ut creditur, tam regis quam comitis merita bona propitiante, filium suscepit et hæredem, Normannorum malleum et Acquitannorum, de quo mentionem fecimus supra, regem Philippum.

He is divinely rewarded on earth by the advancement of his children.

Demum autem, vitæ temporalis spatio feliciter decurso, rege Lodowico paulo post fine bono rebus huma-

Epitaph on Louis VII., A.D. 1180.

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[1] *quoque*] quorum, MS.

[2] Henry, count of Champagne; Theobald, count of Blois; and Stephen, count of Sancerre. The fourth son was William "aux "Blanches Mains," bishop of Chartres, 1165, archbishop of Sens, 1168, and of Reims, 1176.

[3] *Carnotensem*] Carthonensem, MS.

[4] *et*] in, MS.

[5] Alix, Ala or Adela, married to Louis VII. in 1160.

nis exempto, epitaphium ejus satis eleganti stylo, et decenter ornato schemate rhetorico, quidam[1] metri compendio scribens, et tanquam ad filium et hæredem apostrophans et patrem sepultum ostendens, ait:

" Hunc[2] superes tu, qui super es successor honoris;
" Degener[3] es, si degeneres[4] a laude prioris."

Fame of Philip Augustus, A.D. 1180-1223.

Filius autem a patre tantoque patre degenerans revera non fuit, cujus nempe fortunam tam paterna felicitas quam propria quoque sibique innata strenuitas, gratia desuper inspirante, favorem in tantæ plenitudinis gloriam fœcundavit, quod a tempore Karoli filiique sui Lodowici primi in statum tam eximium tantæque amplitudinis titulum Franciæ regnum non excrevit. Præter spem autem ideo diximus, quia, cum de duabus uxoribus primis, Pictavensi scilicet et Hispaniensi, filias f. 111. tantum suscepisset, in senectute sua tertiam istam omine felici duxit uxorem.

Wrongful accessions and unhappy deaths of Norman kings of England.

De regibus autem Anglorum ultimis, Normannica videlicet de stirpe progenitis, hoc compertum habeas, quod quasi per hysteron proteron ordineque præpostero perque suorum cædes propinquorum publicas vel occultas regnare plerique cœperunt, quodque perpauci illorum hactenus feliciter aut fortunate decesserunt.

Character of William, king of Scotland, A.D. 1165-1214.

De Scotorum principibus religione conspicuis.

Scotorum autem principes, qui et reges dicuntur, sicut et Hispaniæ principes, qui nec coronari tamen consueverant nec inungi, bonos quidem et sanctos fuisse fama prædicat, et quorum bonitate, qui nostris diebus præfuit, non degeneravit rex Willelmus. Hic etenim quanquam juvenilibus annis interdum juveniliter agens et motus carnis[5] ad plenum non refrenans sensualitatis insultus ratione prævia et prævalente non cohiberet,

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[1] *quidam*] cuidam, MS. Bouquet and Brewer read " odam me-" trico," and insert " quidam " before " satis."

[2] *Hunc*] Hinc, MS.

[3] *Degener*] deneger, MS.

[4] *degeneres*] deneger es, MS.

[5] *carnis*] trauis, MS.

morum tamen maturitatem et venustatem simul cum annis processu temporis induens, et sicut[1] ætatum sic et virtutum gradibus feliciter ascendens, abjecto veteri homine, ex toto novus effectus et in virum alterum jam mutatus, cum lenitate simul et mansuetudine, cum religione magna et erga Deum ecclesiæque sacræ cultum grandi et jugi devotione, eleemosynarum quoque in pauperes largitione, pius, providus et pacificus, justitia ubique cum æquitate servata, Scotorum exstitit nostris diebus rector felix et moderator.

Proinde totum regni sui decus, quod apud Aunewicense castrum, simul cum oppidis electis, hostili conflictu captus olim amiserat, Scotia quidem a tempore Claudii Cæsaris usque tunc regno Britannico non existente subjecta, ab Anglorum rege tunc regnante Ricardo, divina et justitia utriusque principis uno in facto merita pensante, pretio pecuniæ dato, prætereunte felici sibique suisque commercio (quoniam in Christiano non tam initium quam finis spectari solet), rem impretiabilem viro magnanimo,[2] recuperavit. Porro, quoniam nihil humanis in rebus omni ex parte perfectum natura expolivit, nihilque tam clarum in terris quod aliqua menda vel nævo non denigretur, vir tantus et tam laudabilis in multis totam gloriam suam ab ineunte ætate usque in senium, proh dolor, unica macula decoloravit. Per totam enim terræ suæ totius amplitudinem in cathedralibus ecclesiis cunctis nullas omnino nisi ad nutum ipsius, more tyrannico, fieri permisit electiones, enormes quidem Normannicæ tyrannidis per Angliam abusiones nimis in hoc expresse sequens. Proinde divina, ut creditur, ultione secuta, quæ punire quoque temporaliter plerumque solet, honorem suum et regni sui, quem perditum ante a rege Ricardo recuperaverat, per fratris ejusdem et proximi succes-

Recovers from Richard I. the independence of his kingdom lost at Alnwick, A.D. 1189.

Interferes in the election of bishops.

Is divinely punished by having to submit to John, A.D. 1209.

f. 111 *b*.

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[1] *sicut*] sic, MS.

[2] *viro magnanimo*] MS.; vir magnanimus, ed. Brewer.

soris impetum, Scotia denuo subacta et Anglis[1] in subjectionem data, in senio jam constitutus amisit; et jugum quod excusserat, iterum cum pudore, dedecore pariter et dolore resumpsit. Mirum autem quod viri boni litterati et religiosi terræ suæ hanc ei plagam animæ suæ letalem non ostenderunt. Quis enim gravior excessus et criminalior quam ecclesiam Christi, quam ipse sibi proprio sanguine comparavit, ancillare et maxime in electionibus prælatorum, quibus regi debet, quas tam liberas et legitimas tamque canonicas et non coactas constat esse debere, ipsam ex toto libertate privare? Quid enim refert an multis ad mortem quis vulneribus confodiatur, an uno letali prosternatur? Aut quid homini confert, si in bellico conflictu positus, hostica tela et jacula multa caute declinet et unum tamen in corpore suo letale vulnus inflictum sponte suscipiat et sustineat? Qui sex criminalia vitat et septimum vel scienter vel negligenter admittit, nihil salubriter agit. Qui sex foramina, ne aquæ subintrent, naufragiis obturat et septimum relinquit apertum, absque dubio periclitetur. Sic et qui una virtute caret, quanquam multas alias habere videatur, nullam tamen efficaciter aut salubriter habet. Absit igitur ne vir tantus et inter principes egregios meritis virtutum plurimum commendandus,[2] propter maculam unam, vel nunc sero diluendam et delendam, aut a catalogo principum illustrium et electorum abradi debeat; aut, quod longe horribilius est omnique malo deterius, a libro, quod absit, vitæ deleri. Absit et hoc quoque, ne filius ejus, qui pro patre in Scotia regnare jam cœpit, rex Alexander, nimis expresse patrissando similem animæ suæ plagam incurrat, sed patrem in bonis imitando maculam hanc unicam, qua totam, proh dolor, gloriam suam denigravit, nisibus totis, tanquam pestem, evitet. Ad morem itaque na-

Enormity of his fault.

Advice to Alexander of Scotland

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[1] *Anglis*] angelis, MS.

[2] *commendandus*] comminandus, MS.

turalium et vere laudabilium Franciæ regum erga Dei ministros et ecclesiastica jura se conformet, qui Deo quidem et ecclesiæ suæ dignitates debitas ac libertates in regno suo per omnia devote conservant, et ob hoc, divinæ retributionis gratia, feliciter regnant et prosperis successibus celsisque sicut virtutum sic et honorum gradibus ascendere de die in diem ad ampliora non cessant. Sic igitur hos imitetur, quatinus et ipse similiter in regno suo, quæ Dei sunt, Deo devota voluptate dimittat, et remuneratus ab ipso pristinas Scotiæ libertates et honoris incrementa majora suscipiat.

(A.D. 1214-49) to imitate the French kings in their treatment of the church.

Cum itaque recta fide principis et religione nihil sub sole clarius elucescat, dum laudabili facto pariter et exemplo cunctos illuminat et illustrat, et ad similia jugiter opera bona ex alto provocat et invitat, quoniam

A good prince ought to be a pattern to his subjects

f. 112.

" Non sic inflectere sensus
" Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis,"

Claud., iv. Cons. Hon. 300.

et quia

" Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus,"

id princeps super omnia bonus appetere debet[1] et ad hoc quoque totis nisibus aspirare, ut se cunctis, tam subditis quam cæteris, vitæ meritis et factis egregiis imitabilem reddat. Per quod duplex præmium consequatur, laudem scilicet in terris perpetuam, quæ quidem, quia qui famam negligit crudelis est, sicut nec appeti magno opere, sic neque sponte oblata respui debet, et post sæculi istius felicitatem, beatitudine tam incomparabili quam etiam impretiabili, cum centesimi fructus simul cumulo et culmine, perennem in cœlis palmam et gloriam inter electos obtineat sempiternam. Sicut enim principalium virorum, qui in eminenti specula sunt positi, virtutes emicant, sic et vitia cunctis palam fiunt, et contagio

Quod princeps se meritis egregiis imitabilem reddat et centesimum fructum obtineat.

The virtues and vices of princes are equally conspicuous.

[1] *debet*] debent, MS.

multos exemploque corrumpunt. Quapropter nil vile, nil vitiosum aut vituperio dignum magnos et magnanimos decet; claras enim suas maculas reddunt, cum illi ad quos multi respiciunt aliqua notabili reprehensione sordescunt. Caveant itaque viri magni vitia enormia; caveant et vituperia, sicut et vera, sic [1] etiam probabilia. Et si propter vitam obtinendam nolint æternam, actum ut infamiam, quæ radicata semel vix aboletur, in terra et interminabiles, quo nil est [2] horribilius, ubi et pœna perennis et culpa, quia nihil medium, cruciatus cavere valeant in Gehenna. De prælatis autem et viris ecclesiasticis eorumque gestis memoratu dignis tam antiqui temporis quam etiam modernis, quorum, Deo gratias, copia grandis, ne liber in immensum excresceret et supervacui magis videremur in hoc quam necessarii, supersedendum ad preces et non per singula currendum modestiæ majoris esse censuimus. Præsertim etiam, cum ea quæ de principibus exempla posuimus ad prælatos etiam instruendum, necnon et privatos quoque dociles et bonos erudiendum, non incongrue referri possunt.

Nota.

What has been said is equally instructive for prelates.

Cap. XXI.

De finali principis intentione et felici totius vitæ consummatione.

Of what should be the chief aim of a prince.

Finalis autem debet esse principis intentio, ut totis semper nisibus in finem tendat Christum et, quoties peccat, ad [3] pœnitentiam properet, proponens quidem et hoc animo fixum habens quod, si forte criminaliter excesserit, de membro diaboli, tempestive se corrigens et resipiscens, fiet interim membrum Christi et capiti

[1] *sic*] sicut, MS.
[2] *est*] et, MS.
[3] *ad*] et ad, MS.

suo coadunari non tardaverit. Ne, si pertinaciter et obstinate peccaverit, primo pravis se ipsum, deinde f. 112 *b*. perniciosis alios exemplis, Supremi Judicis iram dupliciter, immo multipliciter, provocans, in præcipitium pariter et periculum mittat, ubi remedium nullum, ubi vestigia nulla retrorsum. Ideoque cum timore Of the fear of God. peccandum diximus et sub Deo; quoniam, De timore Domini. ut ait Jeronimus, "Nihil magis displicet Deo quam post peccatum cervix erecta." . . .

Here follow quotations on the fear of God from Ps. cx. 9, 10; Ecclus. i. 11–13, 16, 17, 20, 22; Ps. lxvi. 7, 8, xxxii. 18, 19, xxxiii. 10-12, xxx. 20, cii. 13, 14, 17; Ecclus. xxiii. 37; Isai. xxvi. 18; Ecclus. xxv. 14–16.

. . . Habemus hic ergo quod timor Dei tam fidem inchoat quam dilectionem. Sicut enim per sitam[1] filum introducitur, sic per timorem tam ad dilectionem quam ad fidem pervenitur; et cætera. Porro, quoniam inefficax est timor, [si] non subsequatur et amor—Dæmones enim timent, et contremiscunt[2]—de dilectione, quam timor Of the love of God. interdum gignere solet, nunc dicemus. Cum enim scriptum sit quia "timentibus Deum nihil deest," ut in Psalterio, et alibi, "Qui timet Deum faciet bona," Ecclus. xv. 1. etc., ut in Ecclesiastico, cap. xlii., qui bene operatur f. 113. et absque defectu dilectionem erga Deum, citra quam nihil est bonum, nihil meritorium, nihil nisi prorsus defectivum, illi deesse credi non debet. Qui ergo vere et efficaciter timet, ille diligit; primum enim est timere Deum, consequens autem diligere pariter et timere—quem enim diligimus, offendere timemus—ad ultimum autem "perfecta caritas omnem foras mittit timorem." 1 Joh. iv. 18. Fundamentum itaque nostræ intentionis ponere debe-

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[1] *sitam*] "Sita pro seta, pilus," Ducange, *s.v.*

[2] *contremiscunt*] contreme sint, MS.

mus in Dei timore, operis autem consummationem in dilectione; timor enim quasi basis, amor quasi columna supposita. [Matt. xxii. 37–40; Ps. xxx. 24, xxxii. 10; Rom. viii. 28.]

De dilectione Domini.

Item, "Timentibus Deum nihil deest, nec his qui "eum diligunt in veritate," ut Romano Psalterio, Psalmo xxxiii. Sed ecce qualiter timor et amor hic conjunguntur, sicut et in illa oratione, "Sancti nomi-"nis tui, Domine, timorem pariter et amorem fac nos "habere perpetuum, quia nunquam tua gubernatione "destituis, quos in soliditate tuæ dilectionis instituis."

Union of fear and love.

Ecclus. i. 14. Item Ecclesiastico, cap. ii.: "Dilectio Dei est honora-"bilis sapientia"; nihil enim amore Dei pretiosius, nihil fortius. Hic etenim facit sanguinis et fletus prodigos, ebrios, lethargicos sane insanos et sancte amantes. Principalis itaque principis intentio, sicut et prælati necnon et privati cujuslibet, esse debet placere Deo in operibus suis. [Rom. xii. 1, 2; Ecclus. xxx. 24.] Secundo, mereri sibi, ut Epistola ad Titum,

The chief aim of a prince ought to be to please God.

Tit. ii. 11-14. cap. iiii.: "Apparuit gratia Dei omnibus, erudiens "nos, ut abnegantes impietatem et sæcularia desideria, "sobrie et juste et pie vivamus," *etc.* Totum comprehendit nostræ saluti necessarium "sobrie" quoad nos ipsos, "juste" quoad proximum, "pie" quoad Deum.

f. 113 *b*. Tertio, prodesse proximo, ut Ecclesiastico, cap. lxviii., in fine [Ecclus. xxiv. 47; Philipp. ii. 4; 1 Corinth. x. 24]. Unde Lucanus de Catone:

Phars. ii. 383, 388, 390, 391.

"Non sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo."
"Urbi[1] pater est, urbique maritus,
"In commune bonus; nullosque Catonis in actus
"Subrepsit partemve tulit sibi nata voluptas."

Item et Claudianus:

iv. Cons. Hon. 294.

"Te civem patremque geras; tu consule cunctis,
"Non tibi; nec tua te moveant, sed[2] publica
"vota."

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[1] *Urbi*] verbi, MS. | [2] *sed*] sit, MS.

Ad dilectionem itaque proximi præcipue Decalogus spectat. . . .

Here follows a long theological passage consisting mainly of quotations from the Vulgate and the Fathers; with the side-notes "De caritate," "Quod a "timore inchoandum et in amore terminandum," "Quod fundamentum omnium virtutum fides," "Quod "senibus mors in januis, juvenibus autem in insidiis," *etc.*

De jubilei termino, quod nec ad hunc ultra maxime est exspectandum.

Few princes have outlived their jubilee year.

. . . Lege historias et libros annales et te moveat f. 117.
interdum, quod et me multum movisse profiteor, quia paucos invenies imperatores reges aut principes seu pontifices, qui ultra præscriptum anni jubilei numerum vitæ longævitatem perduxissent; plurimos autem infra reperies substitisse. Invenies enim de his qui plus vixerunt scriptum in hunc modum figuræ jubileæ: decadis addita littera in hunc modum, "Vixit ille annis lx.," vel etiam l., hac littera l. per se posita vel addita v., vel x. et v. simul adjectis, vel in paucissimis x. geminato, sic lv. vel lx. vel lxv. vel etiam sic lxx., "et mortuus est." Hic est enim fabulæ finis et conclusio. Si autem x. triplicatum in aliquo reperias, scito quia perrarum[1] est, nec nisi paucissimis hunc hodie numerum contingit adire. Et si tibi eo usque promittis attingere, dum te ipsum blande decipiendo seducis, in propriam perniciem tibi male blandiendo mentiris. Esto tamen quod illuc attingas, te jam labor et dolor amplexantur; si enim impotentibus[2] octoginta anni, amplius eorum labor et dolor. Quisquis f. 117 *b*.
igitur ultra quinquagesimum annum sibi vitam promittit, se ipsum male decipiendo plerumque seducit; nec etiam ad ulteriores illos, quibus tam corporis quam

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[1] *perrarum*] perratum, MS.

[2] *impotentibus*] impotentatibus, MS.

animæ vires enervantur, annos attingere virilis animi quispiam appetere debet[1]; quoniam,[2] ut ait poeta:

Virg. Ecl. ix. 51.

"Omnia fert ætas, animum quoque, gaudia vitæ."[3]

Prolonged life not desirable.

In hanc enim animi dotem, scilicet memoriam, senectus, ut ait Seneca, primum incurrit. Nonne desiderabile magis viro tunc decedere, cum ejus adhuc vita cunctis desiderio foret, quam cum in tædium vergitur omnibus et sibi ipsi suisque dedecori magis est quam honori? Solonis elogium[4] in libro de Senectute Cicero commemorat, "quo[5] se negat velle suam "mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare." Volebat enim se etiam in obitu carum esse suis, nec ipsos ob ejus gaudere decessum, sed dolere. Adde etiam quod eorum, quos diuturna nimis et delira senectus exstinguit, si quæ fuerant retroacti temporis, egregia facinora seu præclara conamina non mediocriter finis ignominiosus offuscat. Non itaque longum vitæ cursum facere, sed cursum quandocunque feliciter consummare et bravium attingere, est optabile; quia quodcunque tempus ad bene vivendum datur, eo quis debet esse contentus. "Nec enim histrioni, "ut placeat, peragenda est fabula; modo, in quocun-"que fuerit actu, probetur." Nec oratori, ut persuadeat, sermo in longum est producendus; quacunque orationis parte judicibus satisfactum, immo satis dictum est, debitum est finem consecutus, nec ultra procurrendum. Quoniam, ut ait rhetor Apollonius, "lacrima "nihil arescit citius." In duello quoque Gymnasio[6] aut lucta parum refert quanto tempore vel pugna vel lucta duraverit, dum tamen in hoc vel in illo victoriam certamine quis obtinuerit; victoriosius tamen est per

Cic. de Senect. 73.

Cic. de Senect. 69.

Cic. de Invent. 110.

De gymnasio vel lucta non in longum producenda.

[1] *debet*] deberet, MS.

[2] *quoniam*] qui, MS.

[3] *gaudia vitæ*] These words are substituted for Virgil's "sæpe ego "longos."

[4] *Solonis elogium*] Salomonis eulogium, MS.

[5] *quo*] qui, MS.

[6] *Gymnasio*] Gignasio, MS.

acceleratam victoriam quam per moram ad palmam venire. Cum itaque peregrinatio sit vita, et laboriosa est peregrinatio, nonne laborem in brevi finire et feliciter ad vitam ac patriæ quietem expedit accelerare? Item militia est vita hominis super terram, et continuus est nobis cum hoste conflictus. Utrum ergo victoriosius est, oro, an post gravem luctam et longa certamina tandem hostem superare, an statim in primis congressibus eundem potenter triumphare? Gloriosior est accelerata quam morosa [victoria]. Vi vincitur hostis et potenter exsuperatur qui statim et sine mora prosternitur; vix autem et cum difficultate vinci videtur, qui diu resistens tandem tamen debellatur. Est ergo celebris, si celeris, festiva, si festina, victoria. Non itaque longa vita, sicut nec longa lucta, desiderabilis; finis enim in utraque laudabilis et quovis tempore bonus non diuturnitatis mora coronat. Malis igitur ac reprobis, ut debita sibi diutius differant et declinent Gehennæ supplicia, appetibilis est longævitas, nisi, quoniam quanto diutius vivendo delinquent tanto graviores eis pœnæ debentur, mediocribus quoque, donec completa pœnitentia secure decedant.[1] Bonis autem ac perfectis brevis desiderio est vitæ cursus, ut maturius ad æterna cœlestis patriæ gaudia transferantur. Unde apostolus, "Cupio dissolvi "et esse cum Christo"; et alibi, "Infelix ego homo, "quis me liberabit a corpore mortis hujus?" Corpus enim, quia corrumpitur, aggravat animam et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem. Sancti enim mortem habent in desiderio et vitam in patientia. Unde et Psalmista, "Quemadmodum desiderat "cervus ad fontem aquarum," *etc.* In Ecclesiaste tamen scriptum est, "Melior est canis vivus quam leo mortuus"; hoc est melior est viator quam comprehen-

A speedy victory in the struggle of life, as in the contests of the gymnasium, to be preferred.

Sicut nec longa lucta, sic nec longa vita desiderabilis.

The wicked alone should desire long life, in order to defer their punishment.

f. 118.

Cf. Philipp. i. 23.

Rom. vii. 24.

Ps. xli. 2, 3.

Eccles. ix. 4.

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[1] *decedant*] decedat, MS.

sor, id est in meliori statu et conditione quoad hoc, quod iste adhuc mereri potest et coronam augere, ille nequaquam. Iste enim in loco merendi est, ille vero secundum merita suscipiendi. Propter quod perfectis quoque videtur ob coronam cumulo meritorum augmentandam vitæ temporalis diuturnitas affectanda; verumtamen, quanquam hic major esse videatur felicitas, ibi, ne vel malitia mutet vel fictio forte decipiat, major est securitas. Sic itaque princeps omnis, sic prælatus, sic privatus fide et caritate prævia cum timore, filiali tamen non servili, sed primum initiali, qui est mixta cum timore dilectio, postmodum et filiali, qui perfecte diligens timorem omnem excludit— sic,[1] inquam, se præparet et præmuniat, ut, cum venerit dominator ille domum[2] pulsans et depositum repetens, statim ei confidenter aperiatur commissumque talentum ei cum usuris debitis restituatur. De vitæ vero temporalis spatio vel arctando vel longius producendo, dum tamen parati simus et prompti, divinæ dispositioni, tota in Deum ("Quoniam ipsi," ut ait Petrus in Epistola prima, "cura est de nobis") sollicitudine projecta, puta qui magis expedientia cuilibet ad unguem novit, totum committatur. Sicut ergo longa belli præparatio celerem affert victoriam, sic qui se præscriptis modis præmunierit et omni hora paratum effecerit, mortem semper præ oculis habens omnemque diem quasi supremum reputans, hic hostem cruentum, qui tanquam leo circuit ut devoret, gloriosa victoria triumphabit et ad finem [ad] Christum, qui dicit in Apocalypsi, "Ego sum alpha et omega, principium "et finis," finis, inquam, finium, finis supremus, finis sine fine, felici demum vitæ consummatione transmigrabit. Simul itaque cum Jesu filio Syrach dicamus, "Operamini opus vestrum ante tempus, et dabit vobis "Deus mercedem vestram in tempore suo." Et sicut

Let prince, prelate, and everyone else prepare to meet death, leaving the time to God.

1 Pet. v. 7.

Apoc. i. 8.

Ecclus. li. 38.

[1] *sic*] si, MS. | [2] *domum*] domus, MS.

ipse librum suum, scilicet Ecclesiasticum, sub his verbis terminat, sic et nos sub eisdem primam libri nostri de Principis Instructione distinctionem terminemus. Duæ vero Distinctiones consecutivæ de principis cujusdam nostri temporis successibus et gloria, et ruina postmodum ejusdem in ignominia, quoniam nondum[1] exaratæ ad plenum vel expolitæ, consultius esse videbatur, quatinus ingruente tempestatis instantis et urgentis incommodo latitent interim, seque nullis manibus nullis oculis aut auribus committendo se prorsus occultent et tanquam non existentes sic existant, et, donec pulsis undique nubibus et nebulis cœli faciem terræque superficiem splendidior atque lucidior sol illustret, securius simul atque serenius in publicum prodeundi tempus exspectent. Deo gratias.

The author ends his first Distinction with the concluding words of Ecclesiasticus, and keeps back the other two Distinctions till brighter times.

f. 118 *b*.

EXPLICIT DISTINCTIO PRIMA DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE.

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[1] *nondum*] dum non, MS.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA SECUNDÆ DISTINCTIONIS.

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[1] *Angliam*] Anglorum, MS.
[2] *peregre*] pergere, MS.
[3] *a Deo*] adeo, MS.
[4] *consertis*] consortis, MS.

Henricus a Deo[1] frustra præmunitus fuit et castigatus.

XIII. Revelatio militi de Lincolniæ finibus, Rogero scilicet de Escrebi, facta.

XIV. Quod sicut flagellis et revelationibus, sic et beneficiis interdum, et quasi blanditiis, Dominus eum ad conversionem excitavit.

XV. Litteræ concordiam regis Henrici cum Philippo rege protestantes.

XVI. Litteræ pacem et concordiam inter regem Franciæ et comitem Flandriæ per regem Henricum factam protestantes.

XVII. Litteræ testamentum regis Henrici apud Waltham sollenniter factum protestantes.

XVIII. De privilegiis a domino[2] Papa Alexandro III., maxime propter Galenses, perquisitis.[3]

XIX. De privilegiis aliis propter Hibernicos impetratis.

XX. Calsiliense concilium.

XXI. Tituli regis Henrici secundi de fine Topographiæ Hiberniæ huc[4] transumpti. f. 119.

XXII. De regno Jerosolimitano per Saldani potentiam interim arctato jam nimis et oppresso.

XXIII. Litteræ Urbani Papæ in Angliam ob hoc directæ.

XXIV. De patriarcha Jerosolimitano propter Henricum regem ejusque subsidium in Angliam transmisso.

XXV. Litteræ Lucii Papæ, tam monitoriæ quam minatoriæ, regi Henrico tunc directæ.

XXVI. De verbis et monitis illius qui scripsit hæc regi Henrico dictis in hac causa, ejusque responsis.

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[1] *a Deo*] adeo, MS.

[2] *a domino*] et a primo, MS. See below, at the head of the chapter.

[3] *perquisitis*] perquisito, MS.

[4] *huc*] hunc, MS.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO IN SECUNDAM DISTINCTIONEM.

Quoniam juxta varia fortunæ ludibria quosdam diu deprimi videmus et humiliari, ut gratius postmodum et sublimius exaltentur, et e diverso alios subito et ex inopinato in altum tolli, ut lapsu graviore ruant; huic ultimo casui insistendo, hæc Secunda libelli Distinctio Anglorum regis Henrici secundi inopinatam, ut nemo desperet, sublimationem et gloriam, sequens vero gravem ejusdem, ut in superbiam prospera neminem extollant, dejectionem pariter et ærumnam explicabit. Quoniam, ut ait Hieronymus, "Lætemur ad ascensum, "timeamus ad lapsum; non est tanti gaudii excelsa "tenuisse, quanti mœroris de excelsis corruisse." Adversus tantos quippe regni detentores et tot inimicos, militem insignem scilicet Stephanum regem, regis Henrici primi ex sorore nepotem, et militem egregium Stephani regis filium, et Lodovici Francorum regis sororium, Eustacium, quis unquam Henricum puerulum comitis Andagavensis filium, ausibus[1] tam imparem armis et ante[2] suffragia regnum speraret adepturum? Porro divina dispositio, nullis obstare valentibus, et noxia submovet et, dum arridet, cuncta profutura concedit. Ad hæc etiam post ascensum regni solium, quis tam gravem ecclesiæ malleum, tam iniquum regni tyrannum, et in malis fere cunctis tam obstinatum, tanta et tam incomparabili, tanquam rebus per omnia bene gestis, potitum vidit et victoria? Adeo ut quoties per filios, per Francos, per circumfusas fere undique nationes, ei flagella divinitus parari viderentur ad vindictam, fere semper eidem post longas vexa- f. 119 *b*.

The second Distinction will deal with the glory of Henry II.; the third with his fall.

[1] *ausibus*] auribus, MS. | [2] *ante*] an, MS.

tiones, quæ utinam dedissent intellectum, totum accessit ad victoriam, totum ad gloriam et obstinatæ mentis arrogantiam, tanquam successus in eo contendere viderentur et excessus. Sed longanimis exspectator Dominus et prudens ac potens universorum moderator, veluti pater filios pie sæviens in perversos, nunc flagellis[1] terret et castigat, nunc beneficiis mitigat et demulcet, ut et ab erratis formido deterreat et ad obsequendum virtutisque præmia sequendum vis dilectionis invitet. Facit ergo longa exspectatio longaque vindictæ dilatio, ut benigna Dei patientia[2] delinquentium magis conversionem appetere quam eversionem evidenter appareat. Facit etiam ut post tantam tolerantiam in reprobos et perversos, nec immerito, durior fieri debeat animadversio. In hac ergo secunda operis hujus particula ubique fere patientiam justi Judicis invenies et misericordiam; in tertia vero et ultima plena judicio atque justitia cuncta reperies.

EXPLICIT PRÆFATIO.

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[1] *flagellis*] flagitiis, MS.

[2] *benigna Dei patientia*] benignam Dei patientiam, MS.

INCIPIT DISTINCTIO SECUNDA DE PRINCIPIS CUJUSDAM NOSTRI TEMPORIS SUCCESSIBUS ET GLORIA.[1]

CAP. I.

De regis Anglorum Henrici secundi eventibus[2] *ab ineunte*[3] *ætate secundis, et terris ejusdem in immensum augmentatis.*

Anglorum itaque rex Henricus secundus prosperos fortuitorum casuum eventus ab ortu et non solum inter initia, verum etiam ab ineunte ætate, divinum in omnibus fere, plus ex gratia quam meritorum exigentia, visus [est] obtinuisse favorem. In primis etenim, regis Henrici primi unico filio et hærede Willelmo fluctibus æquoreis submerso, ad ipsum, utpote regis ex filia primæva nepotem, tam ducatus quam regni jura serie hæreditaria sunt devoluta. Rege tamen rebus humanis exempto istoque puero quasi quinquenni et hærede relicto, Stephanus Blesensis, regis e latere nepos ex sorore, injuriose regni coronam occupavit. Sed, postquam annis uno de viginti regnaverat, Stephano rege defuncto, necnon et paulo ante milite insigni filio ejusdem Eustachio, tanquam de medio sublatis impedimentis omnibus, Henrico jam juveni adulto omnia una[4] injuste detenta cum integritate sunt reformata.

The early good fortune of Henry II.

Deaths of Stephen and Eustace.

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[1] In the MS. this title follows the rubric of Cap. I.

[2] *eventibus*] euntibus, MS.

[3] *ineunte*] eunte, MS.

[4] *una*] The first letter is erased, but is still visible ; bona, Bouquet and Brewer.

Statim igitur Henrico secundo in regni solium sublimato, inter ipsa primordia felicis ominis[1] auspicio, sicut ante regni detentores, sic et pacis regni turbatores omnes, nec solum extranei sed et fratres ipsi,[2] sicut et postmodum filii, subito et quasi miraculo quodam exstincti sunt; regi pacifico tranquillitatis et quietis obstacula cuncta exquisito fortunæ favore sunt summota. Sic itaque feliciter regnando non solum terras hæreditarias gratia cooperante potenter pacificavit, quin immo regna remota et extranea, nulli prædecessorum suorum a Normannorum adventu seu etiam Anglorum competentia, victoriose triumphavit. Hiberniam quippe transmeato pelagi profundo classe petiit et magnifice subjugavit; Scotiam quoque capto rege Willelmo subpeditavit; et, Anglicanæ coronæ tam nobile præter solitum adjiciens incrementum, regni metas et terminos a meridionali videlicet oceano usque ad boreales Orcadum insulas egregie dilatavit, totam insulam Britanniæ, sicut oceano clauditur, in unam potenti manu concludens monarchiam, quod, a tempore quo Picti et Scoti boreales insulæ partes primum occupaverant, in nullo legitur auctentico scripto post tempora Claudii Cæsaris, qui non solum Scotiam regno Britannico sed et insulas Orcadum Romano quoque adjecit imperio, a quoquam factum fuisse. Sed tantus, proh dolor, et tam magnificus honor ab Anglicana corona per successorem proximum vili commercio irreparabili damno venundatus evanuit, et pro pretio prætereunte perpetuum et impretiabile decus exspiravit. Dicunt tamen Scoti, et propter honorem terræ suæ assertive proponunt, quod princeps eorum tantum de terra quæ Leonis vocatur usque ad mare Scoticum, quod Scotiam propemodum insulam factam ab Anglicano antiquitus regno discriminavit, cum tribus castellis egregiis in ea contentis Rocheburch tunc red-

Deaths of Henry's brothers.

His foreign conquests.

f. 120.

Ireland, A.D. 1171-2.

Scotland, A.D. 1174.

Lost by his successor.

Contention of the Scotch as to the extent of William the Lion's surrender.

[1] *ominis*] hominis, MS.

[2] Geoffrey, count of Nantes, died 26 July, 1158; and William of Anjou, 30 Jan. 1164.

ditis,[1] regi Anglorum primo captionem apud Aunewic et liberationem hominum fecit. Verius autem et longe verisimilius esse videtur, quod princeps eorum bello captus et incarceratus ad cujuscunque discriminis subjectionem aut etiam belli jure servitutis cujuslibet incommodum, ut solveretur a vinculis ferreis et carcerum tenebris, arctari posset.

Henry's possessions in France.

Præterea in transmarinis Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus præter Andegaviam,[2] Cenomanniam et Turoniam, quæ[3] ei patrimoniali jure, Pictaviam quoque et Gasconiam totam usque ad Pyrenæos Hispaniæ montes, quæ ei matrimonialiter obvenerant, dominatui suo Alverniam et Berricum, Gisortium quoque cum Vegesino Normannico, olim Normanniæ subtracto, viriliter adjecit. Nec solum ad Francorum, simplicis ac sancti viri Ludovici regis abutens commoditate, verum etiam ad Romanum imperium, occasione werræ diutinæ et inexorabilis discordiæ inter imperatorem Fretbericum et suos obortæ, tam Italia tota quam urbe Romulea sæpius invitatus, comparata quidem sibi ad hoc Morianæ vallis[4] et Alpium via, sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit. Solet quippe, quoniam "ex "abundantia cordis os loquitur," animosum pariter et ambitiosum coram privatis suis nonnunquam verbum emittere, totum videlicet mundum uni probo potentique viro parum esse. Adeo siquidem per universum orbem nominis ejus fama celebris exstiterat, ut ipsa præ cunctis terræ regibus ac principibus et fidelibus ad gloriam fuerit et gentilibus ad terrorem. Cuncti quoque terrarum principes tam Christiani quam Gentiles, et sicut Almannicus Fretbericus et Manuel Græcus, sic Noradinus suo tempore et post Psaladinus,

His designs on the empire.

f. 120 b.

His fame abroad.

[1] The five castles surrendered by William were those of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling (Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 80). The whole passage here is rather involved, and perhaps corrupt.

[2] *Andegaviam*] antigaviam, MS.

[3] *quæ*] qui, MS.

[4] *Morianæ vallis*] The allusion is to Henry's treaty with Humbert, count of Maurienne, in 1173 (*Gesta Regis Hen.*, vol. i. p. 36).

et sicut Asiæ sic et Europæ, Hispaniæ videlicet, tam fidei domesticæ[1] quam infideles, eundem exeniis et nuntiis crebris honorare consueverunt et visitare.

Cap. II.

De magnorum virorum isto regnante in Angliam adventibus.

The great men who visited England in Henry's reign.

Confluxerunt[2] in Angliam isto regnante, et ob ejus maxime sublimitatis honorem, de diversarum terrarum finibus viri præter solitum magni et magnifici multi. De Germaniæ regno, præter comites ac marchiones quamplurimos, archiepiscopi Colonienses duo, animosus ille Reginaldus[3] et vir inclytus postea Godefridus, iste peregrinationis obtentu, ille legationis. De Francia vero præter alios tam comes Druensis, Ludovici regis frater, Robertus, quam Blesensis Theobaldus, et Theobaldi frater, archipræsul primo Senonensis, Willelmus,[4] Philippi Francorum regis avunculus et regi Henrico consanguinitate propinquus; famosus quoque et Palatinus comes ille Flandriæ Philippus, regis Henrici ex amita[5] consobrinus. Ad cumulum autem honoris tam regis quam regni totius nobilis ille peregrinus Francorum rex, transmenso Gallici maris brachio, Ludovi-

Archbishops of Cologne.

The counts of Dreux and of Blois, and the archbishop of Sens.

Philip, count of Flanders.

Louis VII. of France, A.D. 1179.

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[1] *domesticæ*] domestici, MS.

[2] *Confluxerunt*] Conflixerunt, MS.

[3] Reginald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, came to England to negociate the marriage of Henry's daughter Matilda to Henry, duke of Saxony, in 1165 (R. de Diceto, vol. i. p. 318). He was succeeded by Philip of Heinsberg, who accompanied Philip, count of Flanders, on a pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1184 (R. de Diceto, vol. ii. p. 31). No occupant of the see in Henry's time bore the name of Godfrey.

[4] William "aux Blanches Mains" (above, p. 137, n. 2). He and his brother Theobald, count of Blois, were related to Henry through their grandmother Adela, daughter of the Conqueror.

[5] *ex amita*] Sibyl, daughter of Fulk V. of Anjou, and third wife of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders.

cus advenit, et ad martyris egregii tumbam Thomæ Cantuariensis humilis ac devotus accessit. Et, præter legatos Romanos et cardinales Hugucionem[1] Petri Leonis et alios, demum patriarcha Jerosolymitanus Eracleus,[2] de cujus adventu post dicetur. Reges Hispaniæ, Castellæ scilicet et Navariæ, ad sedandas inimicitias et discordias graves super terris quibusdam et castellis inter ipsos olim exortas, missis[3] in Angliam viris magnis juris[4] peritis et advocatis, judicium curiæ regis istius, in quem compromiserant, reportarunt. Henry's award between the kings of Castile and Navarre, A.D. 1177.

Tres filias suas, quas de nobili Alienora regina susceperat, ad tres Europæ partes oppositas destinavit, Saxoniam primam et primævam[5] Henrico duci Saxoniæ, Hispaniam secundam et sequentem regi Toletani et Castellæ Alfonso,[6] Siciliam tertiam et natu minorem Willelmo[7] Siculorum regi matrimonio copulandas. Marriages of his daughters.

Ex eadem Alienora sex quoque filios inclytos suscepit, quorum duobus in teneris annis præmature sublatis, quatuor adultis plus pater in flore quam in fructu, plus in herba quam in spica, plus in pueris quam provectis gavisus est. Sicut in Vaticinali *Expugnationis Hibernicæ* Historia nostra et in descriptione regis ejusdem quam fecimus, quam et huic operi subsequenter adjecimus, legi potest ibi "Legitimæ[8] "prolis pueritiam," etc. Digna nimirum et exquisita divinitus hoc ei datum est ultione, ut ob graves excessus et enormes prole propria, minus licite minusque legitime suscepta quam deceret, puniri meruerit et in His six sons. f. 121. He is divinely punished through his own offspring.

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[1] *Hugucionem*] Uguccione Pier Leoni, cardinal of St. Angelo; arrived in England as legate, 27 Oct. 1175.

[2] *Eracleus*] The patriarch Heraclius, in England from Jan. to April, 1185.

[3] *missis*] missos, MS.

[4] *juris*] viris, MS.

[5] *primævam*] Matilda, married in 1168, at the age of 12. Her younger sisters, Eleanor and Joan, were married in 1176 and 1177 respectively.

[6] *Alfonso*] Aufulso, MS.

[7] *minorem Willelmo*] minore Willelmum, MS.

[8] *Expugn. Hib.*, lib. i. cap. 46 (vol. v. p. 305).

terris et usque ad extremam exhalationem anxie perturbari juxta prophetiam Naaman, "Non recedet gla-"dius de domo impii"; et illud ejusdem, "Suscitabit "Deus semen tuum contra te."

Cap. III.

De enormibus ejusdem postea delictis, et martyrio Thomæ.

Henry's unlawful marriage.

In primis etenim Francorum reginam Alienoram domino suo Lodowico Francorum regi, sicut satis est notum, indebite subtraxit sibique de facto conjugali vinculo copulavit, ex qua et prolem prædictam processu temporis[1] omine infausto suscepit; per quam, ut diximus, ob hoc et alia delicta gravissima, quorum quædam subsequenter enumerabimus, eum Dominus, quia vexatio dabit intellectum, humiliari voluit et ad pœnitentiam revocari, vel, si cbstinatus inventus fuerit, prole propria patrem plecti et carne carnificem cruciari. Fuerat enim et ab initio et usque ad finem nobilitatis oppressor, jus et injuriam fasque nefasque pro commodo pensans; justitiæ venditor et dilator; verbo varius et versutus; nec solum verbi verum etiam fidei transgressor facilis et sacramenti; adulter publicus Deoque ingratus et indevotus; ecclesiæ malleus et filius in perniciem natus. Unde, et ad cumulum quoque nequitiæ perfidiæque, sicut pater ejusdem in beatum Gerardum Sagiensium antistitem suo tempore crudeliter desævit,[2] sic et iste longeque crudelius sua commaculans tempora in gloriosum martyrem nostrum Thomam Cantuariorum archipræsulem in malo patrissans desævire præsumpsit. Martyris autem ad

His oppressions and wickedness.

Nota.

His treatment of St. Thomas.

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[1] *temporis*] tempore, MS.

[2] *desævit*] deseruit, MS.; the *r* dotted for deletion. So also below, deseruire.

titulum, quod in Vaticinali scripsimus Historia, et huic quoque in utile[1] duximus adjiciendum:—

Ea[2] tempestate Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in Anglia gladiis impiorum occubuit, non sine multa majorum tam regni quam sacerdotii nota. Cui, præter multiplex illud septennalis fere exilii martyrium, in multo mœrore, cilicio scilicet[3] tam femorali quam corporali, in lectione et oratione continua, et omnium angustiarum gravissima, nec ætati parcente nec sexui, tam miserabili sanguinis universorum[4] proscriptione, ad consummabilem totius martyrii gloriam id totum accessit, quod ipse furibundis hostibus templi fores aperuit et, aperto vertice gladiis occurrens, sacram vulneribus coronam obtendit; quod in ecclesia matre et metropolitana et coram altari; quod a quatuor aulicis canibus, rabie plusquam canina furentibus, in corona, quæ clero potius signum protectionis esse solebat, quatuor vulnera sustinuit et nullum extra; quod ea solum in parte quæ passionem sustinuit[5] Christi miles et martyr insignis intrepide passus conticuit,[6] felici commercio incorruptibilem pro corrupta coronam suscipiens; quod sacram Dominici Natalis ebdomadam suo sanguine consecravit; et sicut primus Thomas quinta Natalem luce prævenit, sic iste secundus, sacris ex nomine jam cessantibus, eundem numerum consequenter[7] implevit; quod ille orientis lampas fuit, hic occidentis; quod ille nascenti ecclesiæ lumen dedit, hic senescenti; et sicut ille surgentis ecclesiæ fundamenta suo sanguine cœmentavit, sic iste suo diu fundatæ, tanquam ruinosæ jam et tam senio confectæ quam vi tempestatum crebro concussæ, pristinum statum reformavit; et sicut ille fervens erat fide fervente, sic iste non tantum fervens, sed et plusquam fervor fuit, jam refrigescente; et sicut ille, ut ecclesiæ substantiam erigeret, tortoribus se cruentis[8] exposuit, sic iste, ut ejusdem

The archbishop's exile.

Proscription of all his family.

His murder.

f. 121 *b*.

Comparison of him (29 Dec.) with St. Thomas the Apostle (21 Dec.).

[1] *in utile*] [non] inutile, ed. Brewer.

[2] *Ea*] Hence to the end of the chapter in *Exp. Hib.*, lib. i. cap. 20 (vol. v. p. 259). The passage occurs also, with additions, in *Vita S. Remigii*, cap. 27 (vol. vii. p. 50), and forms cap. 26 of *Symb. Elect.* (vol. i. p. 393).

[3] *cilicio scil.*] cilicio scil. duplici, *Exp. Hib.*

[4] *universorum*] universi, *Exp. Hib.*

[5] *passionem sustinuit*] passionem Christi significat, *Exp. Hib.*

[6] *conticuit*] emicuit, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] *consequenter*] subsequenter, *Exp. Hib.*

[8] *cruentis*] crucientis, MS.

formam conservaret illæsam, gladiis occumbere non formidavit. Cujus quoque triumphales tantæ victoriæ[1] titulos hi duo versiculi sub compendio satis egregie comprehendunt:

"Pro Christi sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
"In templo, Christi verus amator obit."

De quo, inter varias ejusdem virtutes, illud præcipue spectabile memoriaque dignum occurrit, quod separatis membris et projectis inaudito more nova reposuit, et hac suæ novitate virtutis vere novus martyr apparuit.[2] Occidit autem hoc tritici granum, et in terram cadens multum fructum attulit, anno videlicet ortus sui xlviii°,[3] consecrationis viii°, exilii vii°, in fine Decembris felici bravio cursum finiens veteremque vitam cum anno terminans et novam inchoans; ab incarnatione vero Domini millesimo centesimo lxxi°, præsidente Romæ Alexandro tertio, imperante Fretherico, regnante in Francia Ludovico. Unde[4] et a quodam succincte satis et dilucide incarnationis Dominicæ tempus sic expressum fuit:—

Extraordinary character of his miracles.

Date of his birth, death, &c.

"Annus millenus centenus septuagenus
"Primus erat, primas corruit ense Thomas."

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[1] *victoriæ*] gloriæ, *Exp. Hib.*

[2] Followed in *Vita S. Rem.* and in late MSS. of *Exp. Hib.* by an allusion to a miracle wrought on one Ailward of Westoning (see Robertson, *Mat. for Hist. of abp. T. Becket*, vol. i. p. 156). Mr. Dimock's notes in both places miss the point of the allusion, "virum" and not "visum" being undoubtedly the correct reading. In *Exp. Hib.* a prophecy of Merlin also follows.

[3] *xlviii°*] circiter quinquagesimo quarto, *Exp. Hib.*; though several MSS. of that work, as well as *Vita S. Rem.*, agree with *De Instr. Princ.* The higher number is the correct one (see notes, vol. v. p. 262, vol. vii. p. 56). All three works are wrong in giving the year of Becket's consecration as the eighth, instead of the ninth.

[4] *Unde . . . . fuit*] Instead of this *Exp. Hib.* has merely "Unde quidam," and *Vita S. Rem.* "Unde Norwicensis Turbo," *i.e.* William Turbo, bishop of Norwich, 1146–1174 (see vol. vii. p. 56, note).

Cap. IV.

De rota fortunæ ipsius de cætero semper inclinata, per filios ipsum infestantes semper in præceps data.

Ab hujus autem tam detestandi [1] sceleris tamque nefandi facinoris ausu sacrilego cœpit ei rota fortunæ volubilis ocius ad ima devolvi solitoque segnius ad alta levari; cœpit sors regia paulatim attenuari; cœpit et regnandi robur de die in diem enervari. Quanquam etenim post afflictiones graves et desperabiles divina permissione pariter et probatione interdum resurgere et virtuosius [2] ampliorem ad gloriam conscendere videretur, semper tamen, filiis jam adultis in ipsum frequenter insurgentibus cordaque procerum sibi quotidie magis ac magis allicientibus, in nullo potuit felicitatis statu, nullo securitatis gaudio permanere. Exacto nempe post triumphalem martyris nostri palmam quasi biennio Henricus ejusdem filius et exstantium primævus, quique ipso procurante jam regni fuerat coronam adeptus, ad socerum suum Francorum regem Ludowicum cum duobus fratribus suis, Pictavensium scilicet et Britonum comitibus, a patre et in patrem palam discessit, proceres multos et magnos tam Anglicanos quam transmarinos complices habens et fautores; in quo conflictu, a necessariis fere desertus omnibus, adeo desperabili rex affligi cœpit ut nec ab ipso nec ab alio ulla resurgendi gratia [3] speraretur.

After this crime Henry's fortune begins to decline.

f. 122.

Rebellion of the younger Henry and his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, A.D. 1173.

Quoniam [4] enimvero "inimici hominis domestici ejus" et inter pestes pessima familiaris semper inimicitia, hoc ei ad cumulum doloris et desperationis accessit, et [5] illi quoque quos cubicularios sibi milites elegerat, in quorum manibus mortem simul et vitam commiserat, qualibet fere nocte ad

The king deserted by his household.

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[1] *detestandi*] destinandi, MS., over an erasure.

[2] *virtuosius*] virtuosius, MS.

[3] *gratia*] ne gratia, MS.

[4] *Quoniam . . . comparebant*] In *Exp. Hib.*, lib. i. cap. 45 (vol. v. p. 299).

[5] *et*] quod, *Exp. Hib.*

filios hostili animo se transferentes, mane requisiti non comparebant. Verumtamen, intellectum dante vexatione et contritionem conferente vel ad tempus tribulatione, ad tumbam martyris egregii nudis pedibus a loco[1] unde in ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis primum oculos conjecit, quasi per stadia duo, Cantuariam rex devotus accessit, ibique in orationibus felici vigilia pernoctavit. Dominus etenim, qui bonorum fidelis ac festinus est retributor, delictorum autem longanimis exspectator, ob martyris sui honorem, regiam incontinenti temporaliter saltem remunerans devotionem, in crastino circa horam tertiam Albaniæ regem Willelmum, qui borealis regni partes cum barbarorum multitudine crudeliter invaserat, ei captum[2] apud Anwicense castrum tradidit et captivum. In quo successu tota statim turbatio quievit Anglicana et in brevi postmodum transmarina; quia sicut nullum bonum, sic nec tantæ devotionis exemplum transire potuit irremuneratum. Bellum[3] etenim tam desperabilis initii tam triumphali fine melior fortuna conclusit tantoque favore regis gloriam et tam feliciter augmentavit ut, sicut in primis indignatio divina vindictam accelerasse omnium æstimatione putabatur, sic eadem, conversione magis gaudens quam eversione, processu dierum digna demum complacatione misericorditer resedisse videretur.

His pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, 12 July, 1174.

Capture of the king of Scots, 13 July, 1174.

De Willelmo rege Scotorum capto.

The war ends triumphantly for Henry.

f. 122 b.

Post gravem itaque Dolensis[4] capturæ dolorem, post Sancti Edmundi[5] inundantem regna favorem, post Cantuariæ nocturnam principis peregrinantis pœnitentiam, propitiante nobili martyre Thoma, lacrimis et devotione jam placato, in crastino apud Aunewicense castrum præsidente probo prudentique viro et in utraque fortuna fidelissimo Ranulpho Gluanvilensi,

His successes at Dol, Bury St. Edmunds, and Alnwick, 1173-4.

[1] *a loco*, etc.] Cf. Gervase, "ab "ecclesia S. Dunstani quæ longe "extra urbem posita est," i. 248.

[2] *captum*] captam, MS.

[3] *Bellum . . . reversi*] In *Exp. Hib.*, lib. i. cap. 45 (vol. v. p. 299), immediately following the passage referred to above, p. 163, n. 4.

[4] Dol, in Brittany, surrendered to Henry by the earl of Chester, 26 Aug. 1173.

[5] The battle at Fornham St. Genevieve, near Bury St. Edmunds, 17 Oct. 1173, in which the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner.

diurnam adepta est Anglia diuturnamque lætitiam.[1] Captus igitur Albaniæ rex, capti Cestriæ comites et Leycestriæ; præterea ex utraque Gallici maris parte sorte consimili tot proceres capti, tot duces, tot viri militares, ut vix victis vincula, vix captis carceres, invenirentur.

Sed, quoniam princeps, donec de se ipso triumphet, obscure[2] de hostibus triumphabit (quippe nihil est unde non triumphet animi triumphator), inter tot rerum[3] victorias, fortuna ubique spirante favorem, egregiæ virtutis et inauditæ pietatis exemplo sibi imperans,[4] deque se ipso triumphans, vincens[5] animos iramque[6] suam qui cætera vicit, hostibus undique victis et triumphatis vitam reddidit et honorem; quodque rebus in secundis rarum esse solet, æqua ferens commoda mente, inter ipsos triumphales eventus summam clementiam summam inter prospera modestiam conservavit. Post varias igitur belli biennalis vexationes et inanes omnino fatigationes, sub pacis demum osculo umbratilique magis quam vera concordia, sicut ex post facto claruit, ad patrem filii sunt reversi.

Clemency of Henry to the conquered.

Is reconciled to his sons, 30 Sept. 1174.

Biennali vero clade sedata, cessantibus quoque plagis et persecutionibus, non divinæ miserationi sed brachio suo totum ascribens, tanquam Pharao alter, cor induravit, et ad solitam vitiorum voraginem vel, quoniam[7] "proclivior usus in pejora datur," longe deteriorem incorrigibiliter inclinavit. Et, ut aliis omissis unum in medium proponamus, olim incarcerata sponsa sua Alienora regina in pœnam forte maritalis excidii primi consensusque secundi, qui adulter antea fuerat occultus, effectus postea manifestus, non mundi quidem rosa juxta falsam et frivolam nominis impositionem, sed immundi verius rosa vocata palam et impudenter abu-

Hardens his heart and relapses into vice.

Imprisons queen Eleanor.

Lives in open adultery with Rosamond Clifford.

[1] *lætitiam*] After this in the MS. is the rubric "De successibus regis "Henrici secundi variis," but no new chapter. The words are not in *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *obscure*] *Exp. Hib.*; obscuro, MS.

[3] *rerum*] rerum aliarum, *Exp. Hib.*

[4] *imperans*] rex imperans, *Exp. Hib.*

[5] *vincens*, etc.] Vince animos iramque tuam, qui cætera vincis, Ovid, Heroid. iii. 85.

[6] *iramque*] namque, MS.

[7] *quoniam*] quam, MS.

tendo; et, quoniam "componitur orbis regis ad exemp-"lum," non solum facto quinimmo longe magis offendit exemplo. Ad hæc etiam, ut adhuc ex multis f. 123. pauca proponam, circa prima regni sui tempora regi[1] Francorum Ludovico super aggrediendam communiter peregrinationem Jerosolomitanam fidei sacramentique vinculo constrictus et ab eodem rege multoties ad hoc invitatus, sæpissime quidem suasorie provocatus, semper distulit, semper in tempus protelavit. Erat enim dilator in omnibus, et in his etiam quæ motu ultroneo votivoque desiderio facere disposuerat, sicut ex litteris de compromissione eorundem et confœderatione compositis et hic insertis palam esse potest.

Fails to keep his compact for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with Louis VII.

Cap. V.

Litteræ[2] *compromissionem regis Francorum Ludovici et regis Anglorum Henrici Jerosolimam peregre*[3] *simul eundi protestantes.*

Treaty of Ivry, 25 Sept. 1177.

"Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia rex Francorum et ego "Henricus eadem gratia rex Angliæ volumus ad omnium "tam præsentium quam futurorum notitiam pervenire, "nos, Deo inspirante, promisisse[4] et jurasse, quod simul "ibimus in servitium Christianitatis et crucem suscipiemus "ituri Jerosolimam, sicut in alio scripto de susceptione "crucis facto continetur. Volumus etiam quod omnes "sciant, quod sic sumus et amodo volumus esse amici, "quod uterque nostrum alteri conservabit vitam et "membra et terrenum honorem contra omnes homines pro "posse suo; et,[5] si quæcunque persona alterutri nostrum "male fieri[6] præsumpserit, ego Ludovicus juvabo Henricum "regem Angliæ contra omnes homines pro posse meo, sicut "hominem et fidelem meum, et ego Henricus juvabo Ludovi-"cum regem Franciæ contra omnes homines pro posse meo,

Henry and Louis agree to take the cross;

to defend each other to their utmost;

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[1] *regi*] regni, MS.

[2] Also in Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 144, and Gervase of Canterbury, vol. i. p. 272.

[3] *peregre*] pergere, MS.

[4] *promisisse*] promisse, MS.

[5] *et*] Hoveden; potest, MS.

[6] *male fieri*] MS.; malum facere, Hoved., Gerv.

" sicut dominum meum, salva fide quam debemus hominibus " nostris, quamdiu ipsi fidem nobis servabunt. Et neuter " nostrum amodo retinebit inimicum alterius in terra sua " ex quo inde requisitus fuerit. Et, ut inter nos amodo " tollatur omnis materia discordiæ, concessimus ad invicem " quod de terris et possessionibus et omnibus aliis rebus " quas quisque nostrum modo possidet alter adversus alterum " inde nihil amodo petet, excepto eo de Alvernia, unde con- " tentio inter nos est, et excepto feodo de Castro Radulfi, et " exceptis minutis feodis[1] et divisis terrarum nostrarum de " Berri, si homines nostri aliquid interceperint inter se vel ad- " versus alterum nostrum. Si autem super his quæ superius " excepta sunt per nosmet ipsos convenire non poterimus, ego " Ludovicus elegi tres episcopos, scilicet Claromontensem,[2] " Nivernensem, Trecensem, et tres barones, comitem Theo- " baldum et comitem Robertum et Petrum de Curtenay " fratres meos, ego vero Henricus rex Angliæ elegi tres " episcopos, Willelmum Cenomannensem, Petrum Petra- " gorensem,[3] et Robertum Namnetensem,[4] et tres barones " Mauricium de Creun, Willelmum Mangunel,[5] Petrum de " Monte Rabel ex parte mea, qui, inquisita diligenter hinc " et inde veritate tam per se ipsos quam per juramenta " omnium terrarum illarum, prædicti episcopi in verbo veri- " tatis asseverabunt et laici jurabunt, quod, quicquid cogno- " verint de jure cujusque nostrum esse, hoc inter nos dicent, " et nos eorum dicto bona fide firmiter stabimus. Si vero " omnes episcopi illi quos ego Ludovicus elegi interesse non " poterunt, nihilominus stabimus dicto illorum duorum qui " intererunt. Etiam si omnes barones ex parte mea nomi- " nati non interfuerint, pro eo non remanebit, quin stemus " dicto illorum duorum qui interfuerint. Et similiter erit de " his quos ego Henricus elegi, tam de episcopis[6] quam de " baronibus. Juravimus etiam, quod nullum malum eis " faciemus propter veritatem quam dixerint. Et si forte, " quod Deus avertat, inter nos de terris nostris aliqua querela

not to harbour each other's enemies;

or claim each other's lands.

Questions as to Auvergne, &c., to be submitted to arbitration.

f. 123 *b*.

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[1] *exceptis minutis feodis*] Hoved., Gerv.; excepto fiendo, MS.

[2] *Claromontensem*] Cleremotensem, MS.

[3] *Petragorensem*] Poitagorensem, MS.

[4] *Namnetensem*] Nauernensem, MS.

[5] *Mangunel*] so MS.; Mangot, Hoved., Gerv.

[6] *episcopis*] ipsis, MS.

"amodo orietur, per eosdem bona fide et sine malo ingenio et sine dilatione terminetur. Si autem aliqua prædictarum personarum interim mortua fuerit, altera loco ipsius substituetur.

If one starts before the other, the latter shall guard his land like his own.

Si vero alteruter nostrum ante susceptionem crucis iter peregrinationis alterius[1] arripere voluerit, alter qui remanebit terram illius qui in peregrinatione erit et homines, sicut sua propria et dominica, similiter[2] custodiet et manutenebit.

Each shall make his men swear to serve the other, if their own lord die on the way.

Postquam vero, Deo[3] volente, crucem susceperimus, homines nostros qui nobiscum ibunt faciemus jurare, quod, si alteruter nostrum in via decesserit, quod Deus avertat, ita illi qui superstes erit similiter[4] servient, sicut servirent domino suo, si vivus[5] esset, quamdiu interea Jerusalem[6] morari voluerit.

The survivor shall have the money of his deceased ally.

Pecuniam vero defuncti vivus habebit ad faciendum servitium Christianitatis, præter partem illam quam ante iter suum certis locis et certis personis dandam decreverit.

If both should die, they will choose leaders to succeed them.

Et, si uterque nostrum decesserit, quod Deus avertat, eligemus, si Deus nobis spatium indulserit, de probis et fidelibus hominibus nostris, quibus committetur pecunia utriusque nostrum ad faciendum servitium Christianitatis, et qui ducant et regant homines nostros.

Before starting, each shall appoint regents, and bind them to defend the other's lands.

Antequam iter arripiamus, post vero susceptam crucem, faciemus illos jurare quos custodes et gubernatores constituemus terrarum nostrarum, quod ipsi bona fide cum omni posse suo, si necesse fuerit, sese ad invicem juvabunt ad defendendum terras nostras, cum ab invicem fuerint requisiti. Ita quod illi quos ego Henricus rex Angliæ præfecero ad gubernandum terras meas sic juvabunt ad defendendum terras regis Ludovici Francorum domini mei quemadmodum terras meas defenderent, si civitas mea Rothomagi obsessa esset; et eodem modo quod illi quos ego Ludovicus præfecerim ad gubernandum terras meas cum omni posse suo juvabunt ad defendendum terras Henrici [regis] Angliæ quemadmodum terras [meas] defen-

f. 124.

derent, si civitas mea Parisius obsessa esset.

The subjects of each shall

Volo etiam quod mercatores et omnes homines,[7] tam clerici quam laici,

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[1] *alterius*] not in Hoved. or Gerv.

[2] *similiter*] fideliter, Hoved., Gerv.

[3] *vero, Deo*] Deo vero, MS.

[4] *similiter*] fideliter, Hoved., Gerv.

[5] *vivus*] vnus, MS.

[6] *interea Jerusalem*] in terra Jerosolimitana, Hoved., Gerv.

[7] *quod . . . homines*] quod et omnes homines mercatores, MS.

" cum omnibus rebus suis securi sint et pacem habeant per omnes terras meas. Et ego Henricus rex Angliæ similiter volo quod mercatores et omnes homines, tam clerici quam laici, terræ domini mei regis Francorum cum omnibus rebus suis securi sint et pacem habeant per omnes terras meas. Hæc omnia supradicta nos firmiter observaturos promisimus et juravimus in præsentia P[etri] tituli Sancti Grisogoni presbyteri cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legati, et in præsentia Wintoniensis episcopi Ricardi, et Johannis Carnotensis, et Henrici Baiocensis, et Frogerii Sagiensis, Egidii Ebroicensis,[1] episcoporum; et Henrici regis Angliæ filii, et comitis Theobaldi, et comitis Roberti, et Petri de Curtenei, et comitis Symonis, et Willelmi de Humez, et multorum aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum."

have security and peace in the lands of the other.

Cap. VI.

De duobus interim cardinalibus ad scrutinium de morte martyris Thomæ faciendum in Normanniam transmissis.

Two legates sent to inquire into Becket's death, A.D. 1172.

Advenerunt interea in Normanniam, de curia Romana transmissi, legati duo, Albertus scilicet et Theodinus, de morte martyris scrutinium facturi; in quorum præsentia rex, purgata jurejurando magis ad hominem quam ad rationem innocentia sua, [absolutus est]. Quia tamen ex confessione ipsius quanquam non[2] auctor sceleris sed forte occasio fuisset (dicebat enim non per ipsum milites illos ministros necis et nequitiæ facinus illud perpetrasse), inter alia quædam, quæ loco pœnitentiæ eidem injunxerant, ipsum de peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, olim fide mediante ac sacramento promissa, infra triennium sequens perficienda, sacramento quoque et tunc corporaliter præstito, firmiter astrinxerunt.

The king is absolved;

but is bound by oath to accomplish his journey to Jerusalem within three years.

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[1] *Ebroicensis*] Ebeccensis, MS. | [2] *non*] vero, MS.

Cap. VII.

De tribus monasteriis in compensationem Jerosolimitanæ peregrinationis jam toties promissæ sophistice factis.

He obtains from Rome a further delay, by the promise to found three monasteries.

Elapso vero triennio, nuntiis suis Romam transmissis ut peregrinationis protelationem impetraret, se tria monasteria sumptibus suis in terra sua facturum firma sponsione promisit; et sic mitissimi principis et christianissimi jam interim vergentis in senium laudabile propositum, quia sine ipso secure progredi non poterat, longa fatigatione et frustratoria, quoad gloriam non quoad gratiam, prorsus evacuavit. Tria vero monasteria, quæ in peregrinationis compensationem facere debuerat, sic fecit. Canonicos apud Waltham ab antiquo singulariter et sancte Deo servientes in conventualem communemque vitam et regulam regali potestate redegit; moniales de Ambresbire, hoc est de Ambrosii curia, antiquitus plantatas exstirpavit et alias, id est transmarinas de Fonte Efrardi, violenter intrusit. Tertium vero vel nullum vel simile prioribus sibique prorsus inutile fecit; nisi forte domum conventualem tantum ordinis Kartusiensis de Witham scilicet modicis sumptibus et exilem ad hoc fecisse dicatur, simplicem atque benignam Dei patientiam humanis in hunc modum sophistice versutiis circumvenire contendens.

Delusive fulfilment of his promise at Waltham and Amesbury, A.D. 1177.

f. 124 b.

The third house, at Witham.

Futility of his attempt to deceive the Almighty.

Sed quid attinet humana versutia contra divina consilia? "Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non "est consilium adversus Dominum." "Sapientes au- "tem sunt ut faciant mala; bona vero facere nesciunt." Verumtamen, ut ait apostolus: "Ubi sapiens, ubi "scriba, ubi conquisitor hujus sæculi? Nonne stul- "tam fecit Deus sapientiam hujus mundi?" Et iterum: "Volo vos sapientes quidem esse in bono, sim-

Prov. xxi. 30.

Jer. iv. 22.

1 Cor. i. 20.

Rom. xvi. 19.

"plices autem in malo." Sicut enim nemo a se ipso sapiens esse potest, sed ab Illo illustrante, de quo scriptum est, "Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est." Et alibi, "Nolite prudentes esse apud vosmet ipsos Rom. xii. 16.
"fallentes," etc. Cui concordat illud Isaiæ: "Væ Isai. v. 21.
"vobis, qui sapientes estis in oculis vestris et apud "vosmet ipsos prudentes." Item, "Prudentia carnis Rom. viii. 6, 7.
"mors est." Et subsequenter, "Sapientia carnis ini-"mica est Deo." Et iterum, "Sapientia hujus mundi 1 Cor. iii. 19.
"stultitia est apud Deum." Ad hæc Augustinus: "Si "Domino mentiris, ei mentiris quem non fallis; men-"tiri Deo potes, Deum fallere non potes. Intus te "videt, intus examinat; intus aut damnat aut coronat." Item Jacobus: "Nolite gloriari et mendaces esse ad- Jac. iii. 15.
"versus veritatem. Non est sapientia desursum de-"scendens, sed terrena anima vel diabolica." Item Cassiodorus: "Insipiens est ille qui cœlesti sapientia "vacuus humanis versutiis plenus est." Item apostolus: "Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam 1 Cor. i. 19.
"prudentium reprobabo." Unde in Job: "Compre- Job v. 13.
"hendam sapientes in astutia eorum." Item ejusdem: "Quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est hominibus; et "quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus."

O stultas igitur, o fatuas, o pertinaces ineptias et obstinatas! Nihil apud Hunc rex omnino legis argutia,[1] nihil ornata proficit elocutione,[2] apud quem sola virtus et veritas (quia "regnum cœlorum vim "patitur et violenti rapiunt illud") vel extorquet vel persuadet. Optimus dialecticus est, cum quo disseritur omnium argumentorum locus,[3] qui loco non clauditur; ipse distinguit omnium fallaciarum fantasias, qui falli non potest; ipse dissolvit, apud quem plus valet innocentia quam astutia, plus simplicitas quam urbani- f. 125.
tas, plus veritas quam verbositas, plus elinguis vere-

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[1] *legis argutia*] lexis arguita, MS.
[2] *elocutione*] eloquucio, MS.
[3] *locus*] locos, MS.

cundia quam peccatrix eloquentia. Nec longa logicus iste disputatione fatigat. Uno tamen cuncta claudit et concludit syllogismo; proponet enim legem, assumet transgressionem, concludet damnationem.

CAP. VIII.

De flagellis regi Henrico a Deo datis, et obitu regis junioris.

The younger Henry again in rebellion, A.D. 1183.

Cæterum quanto se pravis actionibus a Domino magis elongavit, tanto propensius eum divina benignitas, ut resipisceret, vicissim et flagellis[1] exagitavit et beneficiis invitavit. Henricus etenim filius ejus, [ob discordiam] inter ipsum et fratrem ejusdem Pictaviæ comitem Ricardum, cui rex pater tunc temporis fautor exstiterat, nuper obortam, paucis post annorum curriculis iterum hostiliter a patre discedens, magnas Pictaviæ partes occupavit; multos patriæ proceres sibi allectos multamque Gallicæ militiæ juventutem circumducens,[2] necnon et militem egregium, fratrem suum Britanniæ comitem Gaufridum, mali totius intentorem, qui Normanniæ fines et Andegaviæ, valida Britonum cohorte stipatus,[3] magnis viribus inquietabat. Rex itaque, tantis ex inopinato turbationibus emersis[4] anxie permotus, grandes undique cogens exercitus, in auxilium comitis Ricardi Lemovicum[5] usque pervenit.

He collects a large force;

Rex autem junior non procul inde, videlicet apud Martellum,[6] tantam armatorum multitudinem in brevi convocaverat quanta nullis[7] unquam diebus a viro terris

[1] *vicissim et flagellis*] so Bouquet and Brewer; et vicissis et flagitiis, MS.

[2] *circumducens*] circumdicens, MS.

[3] *stipatus*] stipatus turbationis emersis, MS. (from lower down).

[4] *emersis*] sed emersis, MS.

[5] *Lemovicum*] Lumonicum, MS.

[6] *Martellum*] Marcellum, MS. The place was Martel, south of Limoges, between Brives and Cahors.

[7] *quanta nullis*] quantam villis, MS.

et thesauris omnino carente fuerat ante commota.[1] Cum itaque tanti conflictus tantique discriminis jam propius[2] dies immineret, longe tamen impari animis quam armis parte patris existente (filius enim plus homine[3] dilectus exstiterat, pater vero adeo cunctis infestus et exosus, quod, si Martis alea processisset, a finibus propriis in primo conflictu, sicut postea scitum est et compertum, filio captivus traderetur), filius, inquam, interim letali morbo correptus, intra paucissimos dies, soluta, proh dolor, tanta per interemptionem contentione, cum exercitus utriusque dolore non modico, vir virtutis invictæ morte præmatura[4] circa kalendas Junii victus occubuit. Patri vero præ omnibus incomparabili mœrore tantus dolor et tam immoderatus accessit, quod solatium respuens omne, inter duo mala perplexus, longe maluerit filium de se quam mortem de filio triumphasse.

but is seized with illness and dies (11 June).

Grief of his father.

Cap. IX.

De titulis Henrici tertii.

Quod autem de titulis Henrici tertii *Hibernica Topographia* nostra declarat, eisdem et hic[5] verbis interserere non alienum reputavi. Præmisso namque de fratribus tractatu communiter, de ipso postmodum subjungitur in hunc modum:

Character of the younger Henry.

f. 125 *b.*

Quorum[6] omnium præcipuus et uno dempto primævus, paterno tam nomine fungens quam honore, de magno major, de luce lucidior, et tanquam alter Priameius[7] Hector, suis honor, hostibus horror, omnibus amor; inter armatas acies

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[1] *commota*] so Bouquet and Brewer; commesta, MS.

[2] *propius*] propicius, MS.

[3] *homine*] omine, MS.; omnino, ed. Brewer.

[4] *præmatura*] prima, MS.

[5] *hic*] hiis, MS.

[6] *Quorum,* etc.] In *Top. Hib.*, Dist. ii. cap. 49 (vol. v. p. 193).

[7] *Priameius*] *Top. Hib.;* primam eius, MS.

Character of the younger Henry.

tanquam de igne fulgur egrediens, cunctorumque mentibus vel unica spes vel metus existens;

Omnis honoris honos, decor et decus urbis et orbis,
Militiæ splendor, gloria, lumen, apex;
Julius ingenio, virtutibus Hector, Achilles
Viribus, Augustus moribus, ore Paris.[1]

Inermis siquidem privatusque, lenis et affabilis, mitis et amabilis, injuriarum quarumlibet data occasione pius indultor, quantumlibet reos longe pronior absolvere quam condemnare. Qui et animum sic instituerat, ut[2] nihil unquam dono dignum cuiquam denegaret, neminem tristem, neminem nisi competentem[3] a se discedere dignum ducens; illum denique sibi diem, tanquam Titus alter,[4] perditum iri[5] reputans, quo non sibi multimoda liberalitate[6] multos alliceret multorumque tam corda quam corpora multiplici beneficiorum largitione compararet.

In armis vero rebusque militaribus, galeato jam capite, sublimis, effrenis, atrox, longeque fera ferocior omni, ubique fere virtute magis quam fortuna triumphans, et Hectorem Priamidem expresse repræsentans; nisi quod ille pro patre patriaque, hic vero pravorum consilio, proh dolor, e contra militavit. Hoc unum ei votum et desiderii caput exstiterat, tantæ strenuitatis exercendæ materiam, tanquam Julius alter, et tempus assequi posse, quo viri virtus digne valuerit enitere.

Ad hoc etiam tam electa militia tamque eleganti stipatus fuerat, quanta nec nostris diebus nec ante uni adhærens homini vel visa est usquam vel audita. Præter alios quippe multos qui inter optimos maximi fuerant tales et tam electos, tanquam Macedo secundus, habebat de familia centum vel plures, quorum quisque torneamentum quodlibet, ad quod probandarum virium causa undique fortissimi tanquam ex condicto

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[1] Also in *Symb. Elect.*, Dist. ii., No. 6 (vol. i. p. 355).

[2] *ut*] vel, MS.

[3] *nisi competentem*] nisi voti compotem, *Top. Hib.*

[4] *tanquam Titus alter*] tanquam citus altus, MS. The words are not in *Top. Hib.*

[5] *iri*] ne, MS.

[6] *liberalitate*] *Top. Hib.*; libertate, MS.

viri militares confluebant, corporis sui valore se vincere debere confidebat.

Unde et quoniam nihil humanum omni ex parte perfectum esse[1] potest, tantam naturalium bonorum gratiam nimium[2] congeri livida natura detrectans tandem tamen niveo candori nævum[3] adjecit, splendidissimum virum solius ingratitudinis vitio et optimi patris vexatione notabilem reddens. De quo, inter cætera sui prodigia, et hoc pro miraculo duci f. 126. potuit, quod hominem terris et thesauris ex toto carentem totus fere mundus sequebatur. Qui, ut sperabatur, et mundi monarchiam in brevi reformasset, si non tam præpropere, tam præmature, tam inopinate vernantem flore[4] verno in tempore invida fatorum[5] series rapuisset, tempore scilicet ætatis suæ trieteride nona, coronationis anno quartodecimo, ab incarnatione vero Domini M°C°LXXX°II°.[6]

Cap. X.

De comite Gaufredo jam iterum a patre diviso, et obitu ejusdem paulo post intempestivo.

Geoffrey, count of Brittany, leaves his father and joins Philip of France, A.D. 1186.

Ad cumulum quoque vexationis pariter et doloris, paucis postmodum annis, mitigato paulisper temporis beneficio tanti mœroris incommodo, cum laxata parumper tam inquietudine quam angustia jam aliquantulum respirasset (quoniam nulla longæva est terrena tranquillitas et quoniam semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat), Gaufredus A[r]moricæ Britanniæ comes inclytus, ob discordias similiter inter ipsum et fratrem suum Pictaviæ comitem Ricardum super terrarum suarum finibus implacabiliter exortas, a patre jam tertio, quia primævi fratris fautor exstiterat, ad Philippum

[1] *perfectum esse*] *Top. Hib.*; perfecte, MS.

[2] *nimium*] MS.; in unum, *Top. Hib.*

[3] *nævum*] *Top. Hib.*; nemini, MS.

[4] *flore*] MS.; florem, *Top. Hib.*

[5] *invida fatorum*] *Top. Hib.*; unda flatorum, MS.

[6] He really died in 1183, the 29th year of his age, and 13th of his coronation.

Ludovici filium jam in Francia pro patre regnantem ex toto discessit.

Hæc etenim fuerat regis Henrici natura perversa, quod summo opere discordias inter filios et suscitabat et fovebat, solum sibi ex eorum discordia pacem sperans et quietem. Comes itaque Gaufredus adeo Philippi regis procerumque Franciæ cunctorum sibi jam animos allexerat, ut unanimi omnium voto seneschallus Franciæ crearetur. Qui cum in tanta jam potestate tantaque regis familiaritate constitutus fuisset, adeo Francorum regem totamque Franciam communiter in patrem suum et fratrem verbis persuasoriis, ut erat eloquentissimus pariter et amantissimus, jam excitaverat, ut inquietudinem tantam quantam, nisi morte præventus fuisset, antea [1] non viderant eis procul dubio comparasset. Cum etenim jam in armis posita, fundata quidem firmiter sed et inchoata fere turbatio tanta fuisset, comes Gaufredus, eodem quo et frater antea morbo acutissimo, scilicet febrili calore, letaliter correptus, infra paucissimos dies, cum Franciæ totius regisque præcipue dolore permaximo, Parisius circa kalendas Augusti rebus humanis exemptus est.[2] Rex etenim Philippus tanto fuerat in morte ipsius et tam desperabili mœrore confectus, ut in ecclesia Parisiensi cathedrali, videlicet Beatæ Virginis, et principali quoque coram altari ab ipso in honoris pariter et amoris signum comes jussus humari, exequiis jam solemnitate exactis, cum in funebrem fossam terra claudendus extrema demitteretur, se ob vehementiam doloris una cum ipso in tumbam hiantem,[3] nisi violenter a suis retractus fuisset, præcipitare parasset.

He is made seneschal of France.

In the midst of his intrigues, he dies of fever at Paris (19 Aug.).

Conduct of Philip at his burial.

f. 126 *b*.

Porro præ omni dolore patris dolor incomparabilis erat; non enim erat dolor sicut dolor ejus. De priori

Grief of Henry.

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[1] *antea*] arma, MS.

[2] Another account of his death says that he was killed in a tournament (Benedict, vol. i. p. 350).

[3] *hiantem*] so Bouquet and Brewer; hii autem, MS.

nempe filio dolorem, beneficio temporis jam sopitum, dolor iste sequens resuscitavit; quoniam et tunc crudescere vulnera cœperunt quibus cicatricem diuturnitas obduxerat. Ictus quippe novissimus etiam veteres[1] plerumque plagas dolore rescindit; vulnus enim animi, quod tempore et ratione curatum est, commemoratio rursus exulcerat. Unde et effectivum est ut, qui modo cum filiis vivere non poterat, sine filiis vivere jam recusaret. O quam dura, quam aspera sors quod de tantis patri pignoribus nihil omnino poterat nisi vel morte mœror, vel vita vexatio provenire! Num et illud Osee huic adaptari potest: "Si genuerint filios, "absque patre faciam eos?[2]" Et infra: "Quod si "genuerint, interficiam amantissima uteri eorum?"

Cap. XI.

De titulis comitis Gaufredi et fratris ejusdem junioris mixtim consertis.

Quod igitur ad hujus quoque titulos præmissa *Topographiæ Hibernicæ* depromit *Historia* cum fratre mixtim et hic inserere dignum duxi. Characters of Geoffrey and his brother John.

Dignas[3] quoque duorum sequentium laudes Armorica Britannica et Hibernica regna proclamant. Ambo hi staturæ modicæ pauloque mediocri plus pusillæ, et formæ pro quantitatis captu satis idoneæ. Horum igitur alter virtutibus insignis titulisque jam summus, et alter erat. Ille militaribus negotiis plene instructus, hic instruendus; ille in spica, hic messis in herba; ille in re magnus, hic in spe magnificandus. Ille, stirpe ab inclyta non degener,[4]

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[1] *veteres*] niteres, MS.

[2] Si enutrierint filios, absque liberis eos faciam, Hosea, ix. 12.

[3] *Dignas*, etc.] In *Top. Hib.*, Dist. iii. capp. 52, 53 (vol. v. p. 199).

[4] *degener*] *Top. Hib.*; deneget, MS.

Characters of Geoffrey and John. nobilissimos fratres virtute pro viribus æquiparavit; huic [1] ab utroque parente virtus originaliter inserta suo in tempore degenerare non poterit. Ille vero [2] eloquens et astutus; et, quia de facili falli non potuit, fallere si nollet, prudentissimus. Duabus militiis, diversisque naturis, tam Ulixem præferens quam Achillem; proh dolor, in patrem semper ingratus existens, magnique fratris vestigia nimis in hoc expressa sequens; plus aloes intus quam mellis habens, in facie vero mollito [3] super oleum effluens sermone, suavi quoque suadaque [4] facundia diffœderare prævalens conjunctissima, linguaque potens [5] duo regna corrumpere; mirabili industria rerum omnium simulator varius et dissimulator. Ps. cxxxix. 12. Sed quoniam vir linguosus [6] et ingratus non dirigetur in terra, Dominus non direxerat vias ejus, nec multiplicavit f. 127. dies ejus.

Hic [7] vero fluxæ ferventisque juventæ tam laqueis illectus [8] quam stimulis irretitus,

Hor., A. P. 163. "cereus in vitium [9] flecti, monitoribus asper,"

tempori se [10] conformans et naturæ motibus non repugnans. Ratione siquidem ætatis, mollitiis hactenus magis addictus quam militiis, deliciis quam duritiis [11], veneri quam virtuti [12]; illa plurimum exercitatus militia qua militat omnis amans, per quam et bonæ indolis adolescentes ad armatam plerumque [13] militiam [animari] solent et a Cupidinis castris ad Palladis arces et artes sublimari. Sicut viridis juventæ [14] propria, sic et sequentium ætatum jura sequetur. Unde et quoniam [15]

Hor., Epp. I. xiv. 36. "Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum,"

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[1] *huic*] hic, MS.

[2] *vero*] vir, *Top. Hib.*

[3] *in facie vero mollito*] *Top. Hib.*; in facite vero mollite, MS.

[4] *suadaque*] *Top. Hib.*; suaque, MS.

[5] *potens*] *Top. Hib.*; petens, MS.

[6] *linguosus*] *Top. Hib.*; relinguosus, MS.

[7] *Hic*] i.e. John; sic, MS.

[8] *illectus*] illectis, MS.

[9] *in vitium*] nuncium, MS.

[10] *se*] sic, MS.

[11] *duritiis*] *Top. Hib.*; diuiciis, MS.

[12] *virtuti*] After this some MSS. of *Top. Hib.* add "juvenili quippe "magis adhuc levitati, quam virili "quo nondum attigit maturitati."

[13] *plerumque*] *Top. Hib.*; plurimumque, MS.

[14] *juventæ*] *Top. Hib.*; viuente, MS.

[15] *quoniam*] *Top. Hib.*; quem, MS.

juvenilis excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas ; Characters of Geoffrey and John.

"Tunc primo est inculpabilis ætas,"
"Cum ludis [1] ponunt tempora metas."

Ille, tanquam arbor in radicem ramos convertens, radices altas facere nequivit. Ultimus hic fratrum, et utinam futurus virtute non ultimus, utrique parenti fere semper obtemperans, longævus in terris esse promeruit.[2]

Dii boni! Si tanti fratres fraterno se invicem fœdere filialique affectu patrem filii respexissent, duplicique tam benevolentiæ quam naturæ vinculo astricti fuissent, quanta et quam inæstimabilis, quam inclyta et incomparabilis in ævum et patris fuisset gloria et prolis victoria! O quam digna memoria et Maronis ingenio digne explicanda historia! Quænam virtus his viribus, quive reges his regibus, tantisque belli ducibus quæ regna resisterent?[3] Ad tantæ virtutis exercendæ materiam mundus ipse minor est ; ad explicandos triumphales tantæ virtutis titulos terræ superficies non sufficeret.

In quantum igitur et quam arduum robur, ramis naturaliter sibi cohærentibus succumque a stirpe trahentibus, arbor excrevisset, ipsa præcisorum tanta et tam præmatura ruina declarat. Sicut enim rami a stipite præcisi per se non coalescunt, sic et mutilata frondibus arbor, cum læsæ majestatis dispendio, tam dignitate minuitur [4] quam decore.

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[1] *ludis*] *Top. Hib.*; laudis, MS.

[2] *promeruit*] Followed in some MSS. of *Top. Hib.* by a paragraph on a prophecy of Merlin.

[3] *resisterent*] *Top. Hib.*; resistent, MS.

[4] *minuitur*] *Top. Hib.*; mirantur, MS.

Cap. XII.

Quod non solum plagis verum et revelationibus crebris et comminationibus rex Henricus a Deo frustra præmunitus fuit et castigatus.

Divine warnings sent to Henry.

Non solum autem plagis et persecutionibus verum etiam minis eundem et revelationibus miserator et misericors Deus, qui "non vult mortem peccatoris sed "magis ut convertatur et vivat," multipliciter ad conversionem excitavit. Anno nimirum post martyris nostri Thomæ passionem ac palmam secundo, quia extunc tam revelationes cœperunt quam persecutiones, f. 127 b. rege de Hibernia revertente, quia apud Meneviam in crastino Paschæ jam applicuerat, cum per maritimam australis Kambriæ viam ad castrum de Kairdif (At Cardiff, 23 Apr. 1172.) Sabbato[1] Paschali primo pernoctasset, missa in crastino mane, Dominica scilicet, sicut in *Itinerario* scripsimus, audita, cum a capella Sancti Pirani præter regem omnes exissent, ipso præ omnibus plus solito tunc in orationibus forte morante, tandem cum exiret et ad ostium capellæ jam equum ascenderet, astitit ei vir quidam ante faciem, poste quodam præfixo de claustro ad capellam ab[2] aula ducente quasi pro podio fungens, flavus, tonsuraque rotunda, vultus macilenti, staturæ aliquantulum proceræ, ætatis quasi circiter annos quadraginta, tunica indutus alba et clausa usque ad collum pedis dimissa, zona præcinctus, et pedibus nudis; qui et regem in hæc verba quasi Teutonice convenit: "God houlde dhe, cuning." Et postea eadem lingua prosecutus est in hanc sententiam, "Salutat "vos Christus et pia mater ejus, Joannes quoque Baptista et "apostolus Petrus, mandantes vobis, quatinus per totas "ditioni vestræ terras subditas ne mercatus dominicis "diebus fiant firmiter inhiberi faciatis, et quod in illis "nihil uspiam operis fiat, nisi divinum officium, et illud

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[1] *Sabbato*, etc.] In *Itin. Kamb.*, lib. i. cap. 6 (vol. vi. p. 64). The story is also found in some late MSS. of *Exp. Hib.*, lib. i. cap. 40 (vol. v. p. 289).

[2] *ab*] ad, MS.

"devote facere et audire, præter cibaria solum quæ[1] ad "usum diurnum præparentur. Quod si feceritis, nihil "unquam inchoabitis quod fine bono non compleatur, vi"tamque feliciter consummabitis." Rex autem militi, cui nomen Philippus de Marceos,[2] qui et frenum equi regis tenebat, de finibus illis oriundo, qui etiam hæc nobis vera relatione propalavit, dixit lingua Gallica, "Quære a "rustico illo, utrum hoc somniaverit." Et cum hoc Anglice miles exponeret, subjecit ille lingua priore, "Sive hoc somni"averim," inquit, "sive non, vide quis hodie dies sit," loquens regi, non interpreti; "quia nisi hoc feceris vitamque "maturius emendaveris, priusquam annus iste prætereat, "tales de rebus quas in mundo plus diligis rumores audies, "talemque turbationem inde recipies quæ tibi usque ad "exitum vitæ non deficiet." Et cum rex hoc dicto, equo calcaribus monito, parum versus portam et quasi passibus octo processisset, super hoc tamen quod audierat cogitans, et lora regyrans, "Vocate mihi," inquit, "bonum "hominem illum." Et cum miles prædictus et juvenis quidam, cui nomen Willelmus, qui soli tunc in oppido cum rege remanserant, illum vocassent et non inventum primum in capella, deinde per aulam et diversoria cuncta quæsissent, nusquam comparuit. Rex autem, eo non reperto, cum tamen diutius eum solus in[3] oppido dum alii quærerent ex- f. 128. spectaret, mœstus plurimum et plangens, quod amplius illi locutus non fuisset, versus Novum Burgum per pontem de Remni iter arripuit.

The prediction fulfilled by the revolt of his sons in Lent, 1173.

Sicut ante[4] comminando vir ille promiserat, sic anno contigit non completo. Filii namque ipsius tres, primævus scilicet Henricus, et alii duo, Pictavensis et Brito, contra ipsum in Quadragesima sequente ad regem Francorum Ludovicum discesserunt. Unde tanta mota est ei inquietatio quantam anima[5] nunquam habuerat, et quæ semper ei usque ad extremum spiritus halitum[6] filiorum fere incessanter perdurasset. Exquisita namque Dei vindicta qualem se filium

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[1] *quæ*] qui, MS.
[2] *Marceos*] Mercros, *Itin. Kamb.*
[3] *in*] non, MS.
[4] *ante*] autem, *Itin. Kamb.*
[5] *anima*] antea, *Itin. Kamb.*
[6] *halitum filiorum*] halitum per aliquem filiorum, *Itin.*

Nota. patri spirituali exhibuerat, tales erga se quos genuerat filios carnales invenit.[1]

A messenger sent to him from Ireland by a vision, A.D. 1175.

Post hanc revelationem et biennalem quæ secuta est persecutionem quasi triennio, vir quidam simplex, rectus, et justus in Hibernia manens, qui tamen non Hibernicus sed Anglicus erat, in somnis hanc vocem audivit: "Vade ad Anglorum regem et dic ei, quatinus "jus suum cuique reddat, vitamque suam in melius "emundet; alioquin in brevi iram Dei incurret ex-"terminantem." Cumque vocem eandem audisset nocte sequente, et tertia quoque cum comminatione, interjectis etiam intersignis regi dicendis, ad se secretissima nulli hominum nisi ipsi soli cognita vel comparata, statim iter arripiens transcursoque duplici maris brachio, tam Gallici videlicet quam Hibernici, ad regem in Acquitannicæ Galliæ finibus in verba prædicta pervenit. Sed rege per hoc non correcto nec commoto, nuntius ad propria completa legatione remeavit. Vir autem cum iter aggrediendo, transmenso[2] mari Hibernico, per Gualliam transiret, episcopum Sancti David, Petrum nomine, et illum qui scripsit hæc archidiaconum ejus in quodam monasterio Cisterciensis ordinis, cui nomen Alba Landa, invenit. Qui statim episcopo causam itineris sui secreto revelavit, et episcopus archidiacono.

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[1] *Exquisita . . . invenit*] In *Exp. Hib.* only; not in *Itin. Kamb.*

[2] *transmenso*] transmerso, MS.

Cap. XIII.

Revelatio militi de Lincolniæ finibus, Rogero scilicet de Estreby,[1] facta.

Circa hæc eadem tempora, sed paulo post, militi cuidam de Lincolniæ partibus, cui nomen Rogerus de Estreby, revelatio facta talis fuit. Cum iter in campo [faceret] solus, audivit vocem majorem et postea minorem, quasi contestantes in idem et dicentes ei, quod iret Londonias ad archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Baldewinum et Ranulphum de Glanvillis tunc Angliæ justiciarium et diceret eis ex parte Dei ut statim transfretarent ad regem Henricum et dicerent ei, quod septem mandata compleret quæ ei mandabant; et, si hoc faceret, honorifice per septennium viveret et crucem Christi de inimicis Ipsius perquireret et vitam feliciter terminaret, alioquin non ultra quatuor annos viveret et ignominiose moreretur. Ipse vero, putans phantasma esse, signo crucis se munivit et diabolum, ut ab ipso discederet, adjuravit. Ipsi vero quorum voces audiebantur e contra dicebant se ex parte Dei esse; et, cum inquireret quinam essent, dicebant quod Petrus et Gabriel erant. Multoties audivit eos hoc idem protestantes, sed fidem eis non adhibuit. Tandem autem, cum jam per annum et dimidium hoc durasset, die Jovis ante mediam Quadragesimam ivit videre carucas suas, et audivit voces illas id ipsum ei injungentes. Rogabant etiam quod aggerem fabarum, quem habebat et pro quindecim marcis venalem exposuerat, eis venderet pauperibusque distribueret (erat enim tempus carum); et ipsi ei decem marcas plus darent quam alius ei obtulisset, et etiam loricam suam, quam valde caram habuerat, impignoratam apud Aaron Judæum ei[2] perquirerent; et quam inde securitatem

Sir Roger de Estreby sent to warn Henry by miraculous voices,

f. 128 b.

[1] *Estreby*] Escrebi, in the table of chapters.

[2] *ei*] eique, MS.

habere vellet excogitaret et facerent ei. Ipse vero tunc primum quod ex parte Dei esse possent, quia de pauperibus erat cura ipsis, conjecturabat. Et, cum parumper inde cogitasset, dixit eis, quod si crux quædam in ecclesia quadam provinciæ suæ, quæ ab antiquo magnæ reverentiæ fuerat et auctoritatis in partibus illis, Crucifixi imaginem præferens, hoc ei dixisset, fidem haberet dictis eorum, tam his quam prioribus. Cui responderunt, quod statim illuc iret et missam audiret de Sancto Spiritu, et audiret Crucifixum loquentem. Ipse vero, statim illuc pergens, rogavit presbiterum, ut missam diceret. Quo facto, cum miles in nave stans ecclesiæ crucem,[1] quæ supra introitum sanctuarii ad excitandam laicorum devotionem præfixa fuerat, diligenter observaret, in hora ipsa sacramenti vidit Crucifixum manus suas ante se conjungere et ei dicentem, quod fidem haberet dictis eorum quos ad ipsum miserat, Petri apostoli scilicet et Gabrielis archangeli, et quod Ipse in manu capiebat promissa eorum, quia sua erant; eoque dicto manus suas ut ante fuerant retraxit. Miles autem, missa completa, putans presbiterum et paucos qui aderant vocem audisse et brachia præposita et post retracta vidisse, cum ipsos super hoc conveniret, nihil audierunt, nec illi qui in nave ecclesiæ fuerant quicquam audierant inde aut viderant; nec etiam, quod magis admirandum, militis vocem audierant cum illo loquentem. Ipse vero statim domum reversus fabas flagellari jussit et pauperibus distribui, uxore ipsius et familia multum obloquentibus. Primum autem vetula venerabilis, quæ[2] scutellam plenam ipso donante habuerat, cum ad aliam villam pergeret, habuit obvium virum quendam antiquum quasi Jerosolymitam palmas a tergo ferentem. Cui roganti ut aliquid ei ad vescendum daret, si forte

which are accredited by miracles.

f. 129.

[1] *crucem*] et crucem, MS.

[2] *venerabilis quæ*] veteris aq̄, MS.; venerata quæ, ed. Brewer.

haberet, dedit ei illa numeratas viginti fabas, quas ipse comedit, et gratias agens evanuit. Fabæ autem illæ cum distribuerentur omni pauperi petenti duraverunt a media Quadragesima usque ad tres ebdomadas ante nativitatem sancti Johannis Baptistæ. Erant autem numero quasi sexaginta sex summæ et dimidia. Nota. Cum autem omnes essent distributæ præter summam et dimidiam, instinctu familiæ suæ vendidit illas pro dimidia marca quam misit cuidam mercatori, cui eam debuerat; nec amplius proterminare poterat nec aliunde habuerat unde redderet. Statim autem hoc facto cum in curia sua deambulasset, audivit voces illas acriter ei comminantes, quoniam, quod Deo dederat vel potius vendiderat, alios in usus posuerat. Et cum ipse responderat quia pactum ei non tenuerant, quia loricam suam nondum habuerat, dixerunt ei, "Quin immo "habes eam, et ad pedes lecti tui jacet"; et cum iret videre, sic invenit. Et cum reversus esset, iterum infremuerunt in eum et nimis intonuerunt; et statim involvit eum globus igneus, cujus impetu in profundum, quasi in abyssum, delatus est. Et cum semper Dei misericordiam postularet et beatam Virginem invocaret, dixerunt ei ut statim iret emere tres summas fabarum, summam et dimidiam pro alia quam eo redderet, et aliam summam et dimidiam in pœnam transgressionis pauperibus erogaret. Quo dicto et concesso, invenit se in curia sua, loco scilicet unde se raptum putabat, igne nusquam comparente, prorsus illæsum. Et statim scandens equum ivit et fabas emit. Cum autem tres summæ apportatæ per decem pelves in die pauperibus darentur, quater triginta summas fecerunt, et a tribus ebdomadibus ante festum sancti Johannis usque totidem ebdomadas in autumno completas duraverunt. Unde per computationem dierum et pelvium octoginta septem summæ de tribus summis excreverunt; et cætera multa mirandis eventibus plena.

He is punished for his disobedience.

He at length seeks the king in Normandy;

Demum tamen[1] milite ad regem in Normanniam transfretante, post multa circiter hæc negotia quasi miracula visa, professus est rex in publico se septem mandata illa completurum integre, et cœpit continuo reddere hæreditates et ablata omnia conquerentibus ibidem et jura sua notificantibus; et factus est ad hoc concursus magnus, usque ad magnam noctis partem. Et tunc quia jejuni erant, procrastinatum est usque mane ad perficiendum quod laudabiliter fuerat inchoatum. In crastino autem facta voce hac concurrentibus infinitis quibusdam ut ablata restituerentur, aliis autem[2] ut servitia sua eis redderentur, rex, pravi[3] consilio prævalente et hesterna devotione refrigescente, iterum procrastinavit. Et sic de die in diem per dilationes et frustrationes multorumque ob hoc sequentium tam pauperum quam divitum vexationes totum evanuit.

who promises to perform the seven commands laid upon him, but the next day changes his mind.

f. 129 b.

The seven commands.

Hæc autem sunt septem mandata: tria quæ juravit in coronatione sua de ecclesia Dei manutenenda; II. De legibus regni justis tenendis; III. Ne aliquem sine judicio, licet reus fuerit, morte damnaret; IIII. In hæreditatibus quibuslibet reddendis et jure faciendo; V. De justitia gratis et sine pretio facienda; VI. De reddendis servitiis ministris suis; VII. De Judæis a terra sua expellendis, parte pecuniæ suæ eis relicta, unde abire et cum familia sua vivere possent; de vadiis autem et cartis nihil haberent, sed sua quique reciperent.

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[1] *tamen*] tam, MS.
[2] *autem*] aut, MS.
[3] *pravi*] MS. Brewer suggests "pravo."

Cap. XIV.

Quod, sicut flagellis et revelationibus, sic et beneficiis interdum et quasi blanditiis Dominus[1] *eum ad conversionem excitavit.*

Sicut enim minis et flagellis pater pius filium ad correctionem castigavit, sic et eundem, paterno affectu perdere quem creaverat quemque redemerat invite sustinens, beneficiis multis et quasi blanditiis post flagitia, toties in triumphales titulos extollendo et tranquillitatem interdum indulgendo, ad conversionem invitavit, nihil siquidem ex contingentibus omittendo. Quoniam, ut ait Isidorus, "Interdum peccan- "tibus nobis sua Deus dona non retrahit, ut ad spem "divinæ propitiationis mens humana consurgat. Ab "illo enim nobis omnia bona, gratia præveniente, "donantur." Unde Psalmista, "Miserator et miseri- "cors Dominus, longanimis et multum misericors." Super quem locum Augustinus,[2] "Miserator actu et "misericors natura. Et longanimis, quia peccatores "diu sustinet. Et misericors, quia dat bona et vocat "multis modis; vocat enim beneficiis creaturæ, vocat "impertiendo[3] tempus vivendi; vocat per flagellum "correctionis; vocat per misericordiam consolationis." Item Gregorius, "Tribus modis terret Deus homines, "ut vel sero convertantur. Quia nunc minis,[4] nunc "plagis, nunc revelationibus quosdam concutit, ut, "qui voluntate converti despiciunt, commoti terrori- "bus corrigantur." Et Augustinus, "Omnis malus aut "ideo vivit, ut corrigatur; aut ideo, ut per illum "boni exerceantur, vel mali affligantur. Dabit enim

Henry is invited to repentance by divine favours.

Sententiæ, lib. ii. cap. 5.

Enarr. in Ps. liv. 1.

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[1] *Dominus*] et Dominus, MS.

[2] Enarratio in Ps. cii. 8. The quotation, however, is by no means exact.

[3] *impertiendo*] in parciendo, MS.

[4] *minis*] nimis, MS.

"bonis intellectum vexatio; et malis ac reprobis per "principes pravos et prælatos pœna plerumque incho- "atur. Permittit enim Dominus tam hypocritas quam "et tyrannos regnare propter peccata populorum; "interdum etiam et propter peccata propria, ut et "eorum mundus videat confusionem, et potentes in
f. 130. "terris, etiam potentes, divina ultione torqueantur."

Quantum autem tranquillitatem et terrenam adhuc gloriam eidem circa dies istos et ante longanimis exspectator Dominus clementer indulserit, ex litteris sequentibus, privilegiis et testamenti quoque scripto, quod proculdubio tamen magis ostentatio peperit quam devotio, cum aliis quibusdam intersertis, patescere potest.

Cap. XV.

Litteræ concordiam regis Henrici cum Philippo rege protestantes.[1]

Letter of Henry, notifying his agreement with Philip of France and the count of Flanders, A.D. 1180.

"Henricus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, dilecto et fideli suo "Ranulpho[2] de Glaunvilla salutem. Quanto personam nos- "tram Redemptor benignus respicere actusque nostros per "misericordiam suam felicius dirigere dignatus est, tanto "majori devotione ejus præconiis insistere ejusque præ- "ceptis obedire debemus. Noverit igitur dilectionis tuæ "sinceritas nos, gratia Sancti Spiritus cooperante, licet non- "nulli, quos nobis benivolos et familiares esse speravimus, "in hac parte plurimum nobis adversantur, pacem firmam "et honorabilem ad securitatem nostram et liberorum nos- "trorum cum domino rege Francorum et comite Flandrensi "atque cum aliis adversariis nostris de partibus illis om- "nino ad voluntatem et dispositionem nostram fecisse, "quam, sicut nobis et familiaribus nostris videtur, per "immensam clementiam Dei, ad honorem nostri et securi- "tatem sumus assecuti. Ita quod omnes qui dominio regni

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[1] *protestantes*] protestante, MS. | [2] *Ranulpho*] Ricardo, MS.

" Francorum subjecti sunt Dominus noster sua miseratione " nobis pro beneplacito nostro reconciliavit gloriæque nos- " træ et exaltationi ac honoris nostri incremento plurimum " adjecit. Ad hæc etiam successibus nostris accessisse cog- " noscas, nos dominam reginam Franciæ, et dominum Re- " mensem archiepiscopum, et ducem Burgundiæ, et comitem " Theobaldum, et comitem de Lato,[1] et Reginaldum Merun- " ensem pro voluntate et dispositione nostra, ad nostrum " eorumque omnium honorem et commoditatem, domino regi " Franciæ et comiti[2] Flandrensi et comiti[3] Hanuensi feli- " citer reconciliasse. Noveris etiam quod tam filii quam et " homines nostri ad voluntatem nostram se habent, operibus " nostris universis per gratiam procedentibus. Quod autem " in nostro sedeat proposito, tibi quam citius poterimus " significabimus. Tu igitur nostris interim, sicut de te " confidimus, negotiis cum omni diligentia intendere[4] non " cesses. Teste magistro Galtero Constantiensi, archidiacono " Oxenfordiæ, apud Gisortium."

Cap. XVI.

Litteræ pacem et concordiam inter regem Franciæ et comitem Flandriæ per regem Henricum factam protestantes.

Letter of Henry, notifying his reconciliation of Philip of France and the count of Flanders. f. 130 *b*.

Item : " Rex Henricus dilecto et fideli suo Ranulpho de " Glaunvilla salutem. Scias quod die clausi Paschæ[5] inter " Gelberacum et Curtiacum,[6] habito ibi colloquio, Dei gratia " constituta est pax et concordia, plurimum interveniente " opera et sollicitudine nostra, inter dominum regem Franciæ " et comitem Flandriæ et eos qui comiti adhæserant, ita

[1] *de Lato*] so MS., but the reading is evidently corrupt. Perhaps Henry, count of Bar, is meant, whose mother was Agnes de Champagne, sister to Ala or Alix, queen of Louis VII., to William, archbishop of Reims, and to Theobald, count of Blois. Brewer suggests Ralph de Coucy (see below, p. 190, n. 6).

[2] *comiti*] comitis, MS.

[3] *comiti*] comitem, MS.

[4] *intendere*] et intendere, MS.

[5] *die clausi Paschæ*] 4 April, 1182. See R. de Diceto, vol. ii. p. 10.

[6] *Curtiacum*] so MS.; perhaps for Gurnacum, *i.e.* Gournay, a few miles south-west of Gerberoy.

"quod ipso die affidata fuit utrobique tenenda, sicut prolo- "cuta fuit. Et ego insuper in manum cepi ad efficiendum, "ut secundum quod divisa est procedat. Forma autem "pacis talis est. Comes siquidem Flandriæ et complices "sui redire debent in homagium et liganciam et servitium "et fidelitatem domini regis Franciæ, sicut erant antequam "guerra inciperet. Et illi qui dissaisiti erant per guerram "talem saisinam habebunt de terris suis, qualem habebant "xv. die antequam guerra[1] inciperet. Et omnes qui capti "erant ex utraque parte liberati et quieti erunt; excepto "eo, quod redemptio quæ data est non restituetur, nec "reddenda persolvetur. Super comitatu vero de Peruun "et de Viromandia res ita se habet, quod comes Flandriæ "publice recognovit quod nil juris sibi vindicat in terra "illa de Viromandia, nisi tantummodo vadium et supposi- "tionem quam misit in emendationem terræ illius. Præ- "terea comes Flandriæ reddidit domino regi Franciæ Pic- "refontem[2]; et rex idem castrum reddidit episcopo de "Saissuns[3]; et episcopus dominæ Agathæ,[4] quod eam hæ- "reditarie contingat, exhibebit. Comes vero Claremontensis[5] "et Radulphus de Curtiaco[6] sunt ex toto in manu domini "regis Franciæ, liberi et quieti comite Flandriæ, ex his "quæ de ipso tenebant de feodo comitatus Viromandiæ. "Quia vero dux Burgundiæ et comitissa de Campania, et "qui eis adhæserant, non interfuerunt paci prædictæ faci- "endæ, oportet ut ego ad pacem consummandam sim[7] in "proxima Dominica post clausum Paschæ inter Silvanectis[8] "et Crespi in Valeis, quo ipsi advenient, ut quod de pacis "consummatione restat ibi perficiatur, quatinus firma et "stabilis permaneat."

The count resigns his claim to Vermandois, and restores Pierrefonds.

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[1] *guerra*] guerram, MS.

[2] *Picrefontem*] *sc.* Petræ Fontem.

[3] *Saissuns*] Soissons; Saissuas, MS.

[4] *Agathæ*] widow of Hugh de Oisy (R. de Diceto).

[5] *Claremontensis*] Ralph, count of Clermont-en-Beauvoisis.

[6] *Curtiaco*] Ralph de Coucy [de Cociaco] is meant.

[7] *sim*] si, MS.

[8] *Silvanectis*] Senlis; Silvavertis, MS.

Cap. XVII.

Litteræ testamentum regis Henrici apud Waltham sollemniter factum protestantes.[1]

Will of Henry II., made at Bishop's Waltham, 22 Feb. 1182.

" Henricus, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ " et comes Andegaviæ, Henrico regi, Ricardo, Gaufredo et " Johanni filiis suis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, " comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis et ballivis per universam " amplitudinis suæ, salutem et gratiam suam. Notum vobis " facio quod apud Waltham, præsentibus episcopis R[icardo] " Wintoniensi, Johanne Norwicensi, Gaufredo cancellario, " filio meo, magistro W[altero] de Costantiis, Oxeneford " archidiacono, et Godefrido de Luci,[2] Raunulpho de Glan- " villa, R[ogero] filio Reinfridi, Hugone de Norwico, Ra- " dulpho filio Stephani camerario, W[illelmo] Rufo, feci " testamentum[3] de quadam parte pecuniæ meæ in hunc " modum :—

Bequests to the Templars and Hospitallers;

" Domui militiæ Templi Jerusalem quinque millia " marcarum argenti; domui Hospitalis Jerusalem quin- " que millia marcarum argenti; ad communiendum[4] " defensionem terræ Jerusalem quinque millia marcas ar- " genti; per manum et visum magistrorum Templi et " Hospitalis Jerusalem habendas; præter pecuniam illam " quam prius prædictis domibus commiseram custodiendam, " quam dono similiter ad defensionem terræ ipsius Jerusa- " lem, nisi eam in vita mea repetere voluero. Et aliis " domibus religiosis totius terræ Jerusalem, et leprosis et " inclusis et heremitis ejusdem terræ, quinque millia mar- " cas argenti, dividendas per manum et visum patriarchæ " Jerusalem et episcoporum terræ et magistrorum Templi[5] " et Hospitalis.

f. 131.

to religious houses in the Holy Land,

in England,

" Domibus religiosis Angliæ, monachorum, canonicorum, " sanctimonialium, leprosis et inclusis, et heremitis ejusdem

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[1] In Gervase of Canterbury, vol. i. p. 298. See also Rymer's *Fœdera*, ed. 1816, vol. i. p. 47.

[2] *Luci*] Luci, archidiacono de Derebi, Gerv.

[3] *testamentum*] divisam meam, Gerv.

[4] *communiendum*] communem, Gerv.

[5] *Templi*] Gerv.; terre, MS.

" terræ, quinque millia[1] marcas argenti, dividendas per " manum et visum Ricardi [archi]episcopi Cantuariensis, et " R[icardi] Wintoniensis episcopi, et B[aldewini] Wigornien- " sis, et B. Eliensis[2] et Johannis Norwicensis episcoporum, " et R[anulphi] de Glanvilla, justitiarii Angliæ.

in Normandy,

" Domibus religiosis Normanniæ, monachorum, canonico- " rum, sanctimonialium, et inclusis et heremitis ejusdem " terræ tria millia marcas argenti, dividendas per manum " et visum Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, Baiocensis, Abri[n]- " censis, Saginensis, et Ebroicensis episcoporum. Domibus " leprosorum ejusdem terræ ccc. marcas argenti per manum " et visum prædictorum dividendas. Monialibus Moretoniæ " c. marcas argenti. Monialibus de Veilers extra Phalesiam " c. marcas argenti. Domibus religiosis terræ comitatus[3]

in Anjou;

" Andegaviæ patris mei, exceptis monialibus de ordine Fon- " tis Ebrardi, mille marcas[4] argenti, per manus episcopo- " rum Cenomannensis et Andegavensis dividendas. Ipsis " autem sanctimonialibus Fontis Ebrardi et domibus ipsius " ordinis duo millia marcas argenti, dividendas per manum " et visum abbatissæ Fontis Ebrardi. Sanctimonialibus

to the religious orders;

" sancti Sulplicii[5] centum marcas argenti. Domui et toti " ordini Grandis Montis tria millia marcas argenti. Domui " et toti ordini Cartusiæ duo millia marcas argenti. Domui " de Cistercio et omnibus domibus ipsius ordinis, exceptis " domibus ejusdem ordinis quæ in terra mea sunt, quibus " divisam meam feci, duo millia marcas argenti, dividendas " per manum et visum abbatis[6] Cistercii et Clarevallis. " Domui Cluniaci mille marcas argenti, præter hoc quod " eidem domui accommodavi, quod ei perdono, nisi in vita " mea repetere voluero. Domui Majoris Monasterii perdono " mille marcas argenti quas ei accommodavi, nisi eas in " vita mea repetere voluero. Sanctimonialibus de Marcilli " c. marcas argenti.[7] Domui de Premustre et toti ordini, " exceptis domibus ejusdem ordinis quæ in terra mea sunt, " cc. marcas argenti. Domui de Aroes et toti ordini, ex-

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1 *millia*] om. MS.

2 *B. Eliensis*] MS.; Gaufridi Eliensis, Gerv., correctly.

3 *comitatus*] comitis, Gerv.

4 *marcas*] om. MS.

5 *Sulplicii*] Sulpitii Britanniæ, Gerv.

6 *abbatis*] Gerv.; albertis, MS.

7 *de Marcilli c. marcas argenti*] Gerv.; Marcamac' argenti, MS.

" ceptis domibus ejusdem ordinis terræ meæ, c. marcas argenti.

" Ad maritandas pauperes et liberas feminas Angliæ quæ carent auxilio ccc. marcas auri, dividendas per manum et visum R[icardi] Wintoniensis, R.[1] Wigorniensis, G[alfridi] Elyensis, et Johannis Norwicensis episcoporum, et Ranulphi de Glanvilla. Ad maritandas pauperes et liberas feminas Normanniæ quæ carent auxilio[2] c. marcas auri, per manum et visum Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, Baiocensis, Abri[n]censis, Sagiensis, Ebroicensis[3] episcoporum. Ad maritandas pauperes et liberas feminas de terra comitatus Andegaviæ patris mei c. marcas auri, per manum et visum Cenomannensis et Andegavensis episcoporum dividendas.

and for marriage portions for poor girls in England, Normandy, and Anjou.

f. 131 b.

" Hoc autem testamentum[4] feci in prædicto loco, anno Incarnationis Domini M°C°LXXXII°. Quod vobis filiis meis, per fidem quam mihi debetis et sacramentum quod inde mihi jurastis, præcipio ut firmiter et inviolabiliter teneri faciatis; et quod super eos qui ipsum fecerint et executores exstiterint manum non ponatis. Et quicunque contra hoc venire præsumpserint, indignationem et iram Omnipotentis Dei et maledictionem ipsius Dei et meam incurrant. Vobis autem archiepiscopis et episcopis mando ut, per sacramentum quod mihi fecistis et per fidem quam Deo et mihi debetis, in synodis vestris sollemniter accensis candelis excommunicetis et excommunicari faciatis omnes illos qui hoc testamentum meum infringere præsumpserint. Et sciatis quod dominus papa hoc testamentum meum scripto et sigillo suo confirmavit sub interminatione anathematis.

Injunctions to his sons and others for the strict observance of the will.

" Summa xlvi. m. marcas argenti, et quinquaginta marcas auri."

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[1] *R.*] MS.; Baldewini, Gerv., correctly.

[2] *auxilio*] Gerv.; arpaisio, MS.

[3] *Ebroicensis*] Gerv.; Eboracensis, MS.

[4] *testamentum*] divisam, Gerv.; as also below.

Cap. XVIII.

De privilegiis a domino Papa Alexandro tertio maxime propter Galenses[1] *perquisitis.*

Privilege obtained by Henry from pope Alexander III., chiefly directed against the Welsh.

Privilegia vero a curia Romana, tam ad pacis regni proprii confirmationem quam extranei quoque subjectionem, impetravit in hunc modum:—

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto in "Christo filio Henrico illustri Anglorum regi salutem et "apostolicam benedictionem. Quanto personam tuam am- "pliori diligimus caritate et affectu, quantoque regni An- "glicani fœcunditas non solum ecclesiæ Romanæ, verum "etiam domibus religiosis Hospitalis et militiæ Templi "regnoque Jerosolymitano et toti fere fidelium orbi, pro- "ficua magis esse dinoscitur, tanto diligentius ea quæ ad "personæ incolumitatem regnique tui status integritatem "spectant et tranquillitatem, totis viribus[2] procurare tene- "mur. Hinc est quod universis et singulis infra regni "Anglicani ambitum constitutis[3] firmiter injungimus et "apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatinus fidem "Christi debitam per omnia fideliter observent, tibique tan- "quam domino ac principi suo subditi, ut decet, et obedi- "entes existant. Si quis autem eorum, spreto hoc nostro "mandato, judicium curiæ tuæ declinans te potius armis "inquietare regnumque tuum infestare præsumpserit, "archiepiscopis regni dedimus in mandatis, quatinus post "trinam admonitionem, nisi resipiscere et ad fidelitatem f. 132. "tuam et pacem redire voluerit, eum publice candelis ac- "censis nostra excommunicent auctoritate, et ab omnibus "interim, tanquam excommunicatum, cautius denuntient "evitandum."

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[1] *Galenses*] Galensis, MS.
[2] *viribus*] visibus, MS.
[3] *constitutis*] constituti, MS.

Cap. XIX.

De privilegiis aliis propter Hibernicos impetratis.

Alia vero privilegia expugnationis Hibernicæ licentia sub eodem tenore quo in libro *Expugnationis Hibernicæ* posita sunt et hic quoque posita lector inveniet.

He obtains another privilege from pope Alexander III. for the conquest of Ireland.

Interea [1] quanquam martiis plurimum intentus et detentus exercitiis,[2] Anglorum rex, suæ tamen inter agendum Hiberniæ non immemor, cum prænotatis spurcitiarum litteris in synodo Cassiliensi [3] per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nuntiis, ab Alexandro III.,[4] tunc præsidente, privilegium impetravit, ejusdem auctoritate simul et assensu, Hibernico populo tam dominandi quam ipsum, in fidei rudimentis incultissimum, ecclesiasticis normis et disciplinis juxta Anglicanæ ecclesiæ mores informandi. In Hiberniam itaque privilegio transmisso per Nicholaum [5] Gualingefordensem tunc priorem, Malme[s]buriensem quoque postmodum abbatem tam positum quam depositum, necnon et Willelmum Addelmi [6] filium, convocata statim apud Guaterfordiam episcoporum synodo, in publica audientia ejus[dem] privilegii cum universitatis assensu solemnis recitatio facta fuit, necnon et alterius privilegii per eosdem transmissi, quod idem rex ab Adriano papa Alexandri prædecessore antea perquisierat, per Joannem Salesburiensem, postmodum episcopum Carnotensem, Romam ad hoc destinatum. Per quem etiam idem papa Anglorum regi annulum aureum in investituræ signum præsentaverat; qui statim simul cum privilegio in archivis Guntoniæ [7] repositus fuerat. Unde et utriusque privilegii

It is recited with an earlier privilege from Adrian IV. in a synod at Waterford, A.D. 1174 or 1175.

[1] *Interea . . . consequatur*] In *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 5 (vol. v. p. 315).

[2] *exercitiis*] *Exp. Hib.*; ei certius, MS.

[3] *Cassiliensi*] *Exp. Hib.*; Calsidonensi, MS.

[4] *Alexandro tertio*] So MS., agreeing with *Exp. Hib.* Some late manuscripts of the latter work read "Adriano papa de Anglia "oriundo"; and this erroneous reading was adopted, without remark, by Mr. Brewer in his edition of the *De Instr. Princ.* The effect of this may be seen in Mr. Dimock's note on the passage.

[5] Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, made abbot of Malmesbury in 1182, and deposed in 1187.

[6] *Addelmi*] Aldelini, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] *Guntoniæ*] MS.; Wintoniæ, *Exp. Hib.*

N 2

tenorem hic interserere non superfluum reputavi. Erat itaque primi et primo impetrati tenor hic :

Adrian's privilege, A.D. 1155.

" Adrianus[1] episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo " in Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi salutem et aposto- " licam benedictionem. Laudabiliter satis et fructuose de " glorioso[2] nomine propagando in terris et æternæ felici- " tatis præmio cumulando in cœlis tua magnificentia cogi- " tat; dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos, ad declarandum " indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem, " et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico exstirpanda, sicut " catholicus princeps, intendis; et ad id convenientius ex- " sequendum consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis et favorem. " In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione " procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstante " Domino, confidimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exi- " tum semper et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore " fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane f. 132 *b*. " Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiæ Christus " illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad " jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua " etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere. " Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et ger- " men gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id a nobis interno " examine prospicimus exigendum. Significasti siquidem " nobis, fili in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad " subdendum illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria " inde exstirpanda velle intrare; et de singulis domibus " annuam[3] unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensio- " nem et jura[4] ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra " conservare. Nos itaque, pium et laudabile desiderium " tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes et petitioni tuæ " benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum " habemus, ut pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum " restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus " inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento, insulam " illam ingrediaris, et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem " illius terræ spectaverint exsequaris; et illius terræ populus

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[1] *Adrianus, etc.*] Also in *De rebus a se gestis*, cap. xi. (vol. i. p. 62); and in R. de Diceto, vol. i. p. 300.

[2] *glorioso*] gloriose, MS.

[3] *annuam*] *Exp. Hib.;* animam, MS.

[4] *jura*] *Exp. Hib.;* viri, MS.

"honorifice te recipiat et sicut dominum veneretur, jure "nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et "salva beato Petro et sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ de "singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo "quod concepisti animo effectu[1] duxeris complendum, stude "gentem illam bonis moribus informare; et agas, tam per "te quam per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo et vita idoneos "esse prospexeris, ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et "crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei "et salutem pertinent animarum taliter ordinentur, ut a "Deo[2] sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis et "in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in sæculis obtinere."

Secundi vero privilegii tenor hic, sicut[3] a quibusdam impetratum asseritur aut confingitur, ab aliis autem[4] unquam impetratum fuisse negatur:—

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Confirmation by pope Alexander III. "Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi salutem et apostolicam "benedictionem. Quoniam ea, quæ a prædecessoribus nostris "rationabiliter inducta[5] noscuntur, perpetua merentur sta-"bilitate firmari, venerabilis papæ[6] vestigiis inhærentes "nostrique desiderii fructum attendentes, concessionem ejus-"dem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, salva "beato Petro et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, sicut in "Anglia sic et in Hibernia, de[7] singulis domibus annua "unius denarii pensione, ratam habemus et confirmamus; "quatinus, eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis, barbara natio, "quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestra indulgentia[8] mo-"rum induat venustatem, et, redacta in formam hactenus f. 133. "informi finium illorum ecclesia, gens ea per vos Christianæ "professionis nomen cum effectu de cætero consequatur."

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[1] *effectu*] effecta, MS.
[2] *a Deo*] adeo, MS.
[3] *sicut . . . negatur*] This is not in *Exp. Hib.*
[4] *autem*] aut, MS.
[5] *inducta*] indulta, *Exp. Hib.*
[6] *papæ*] Adriani papæ, *Exp. Hib.*
[7] *de*] om. MS.
[8] *indulgentia*] diligentia, *Exp. Hib.*

Cap. XX.

Cassiliense Concilium.

Church synod convened by Henry at Cashel, A.D. 1171, or 1172.

Cassiliense quoque concilium cum constitutionibus suis a prædicto hoc libro nec indebite translatum lector advertat. Silente[1] igitur insula in conspectu regis et tranquilla jam pace gaudente, ecclesiæ Dei decus Christique cultum in partibus illis magnificandi ampliori desiderio rex accensus, totius cleri Hiberniæ concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi, requisitis et auditis publice terræ illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis, et scripto etiam in subsigillo[2] legati Lismoriensis, qui cæteris ibidem dignitate tunc præerat, ex industria redactis, constitutiones sacras, quæ adhuc exstant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, de decimis dandis, de ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis et frequentandis, quam plures emisit, ecclesiæ illius statum[3] ad Anglicanæ ecclesiæ formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando, et cætera.

Cap. XXI.

Tituli regis Henrici secundi de fine Topographiæ Hibernicæ huc[4] transumpti.

Eulogy of Henry.

Præterea et ea quoque quæ ad regis ejusdem titulos in fine [*Topographiæ*] *Hibernicæ* nostræ scripta reperiuntur et huc non immerito transferri debent. Quæ quidem licet blande aliquantulum videantur emissa, puta quæ principi regnanti adhuc et in sceptris potenter agenti conscripta fuerant, sunt tamen in omnibus historica veritate suffulta.

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[1] *Silente . . . elaborando*] In *Exp. Hib.*, i. 34 (vol. v. p. 280), followed by the canons enacted at the synod.

[2] *in subsigillo*] sub sigillo, *Exp. Hib.*

[3] *statum*] statim, MS.

[4] *huc*] tunc, MS.

Gens[1] igitur Hibernica a primo adventus sui tempore et primi illius Herimonis regno usque ad Gurmundi et Turgesii tempora, quibus et turbata quies et interrupta aliquamdiu fuit ejus tranquillitas, iterumque ab eorum obitu usque ad hæc nostra tempora, ab omni alienarum gentium incursu libera mansit et inconcussa; donec per vos, rex invictissime, et vestræ animositatis audaciam, his denuo nostris diebus est[2] subjugata, anno videlicet vestræ ætatis XLI°, regni vestri XVII°, ab Incarnatione vero Domini M°C°LXXII°. The Irish free until subjugated by him.

Certant enim cum orbe terrarum victoriæ vestræ; cum a Pyrinæis Hispaniæ montibus usque in occiduos et extremos Borealis oceani fines, Alexander noster occidentalis, brachium extendisti.[3] Quantum igitur his in partibus natura terras, tantum et victorias extulisti. Si excursuum tuorum metæ quærantur, prius deerit orbis quam aderit finis. Animoso quippe pectori cessare possunt terræ, cessare nesciunt victoriæ; nec deesse poterunt triumphi, sed materia triumphandi. His victories and clemency.

Qualiter igitur titulis et triumphis vestris Hibernicus orbis accesserit! Quanta et quam laudabili virtute oceani secreta f. 133 *b*. et occulta naturæ deposita transpenetraveris! Quam præmature et intempestive, quam celerrime et scelerosissime intestina conspiratione ab ausu nobili revocatus fueris, victoria tamen completa, sed nondum in formam regione redacta! Qualiter fulguranti[4] adventus vestri lumine attoniti[5] occidentales reguli, tanquam ad lucubrum, avide[6] ad vestrum statim imperium convolaverint! Quam innaturaliter et illaudabiliter conjurata in ventrem viscera tam orientales Asiæ quam etiam Hispaniæ victorias vestras, quas occidentalibus continuare et fidem Christi egregie dilatare animoque excelso jam conceperas, tam pravo et iniquo consilio, totique fidelium orbi damnosissimo, distulerint! Quantam misericordiam, et quam laudabilem in principe et capitaliter offenso rege clementiam, perpetuaque memoria et exemplo dignissimam, superborum et sublimium collis mira virtute calcatis et hostibus ubique triumphatis, in reges et

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[1] *Gens*] Hence to the end of the chapter in *Top. Hib.*, iii. 46–48 (vol. v. p. 189); also in *Symb. Elect.* (vol. i. p. 391).

[2] *est*] esse, MS.

[3] *extendisti*] extendistis, MS.

[4] *fulguranti*] fulgurantius, MS.

[5] *attoniti*] attonita, MS.

[6] *avide*] MS.; aviculæ, *Top. Hib.*

principes victos rex et victor exercueris, et vere rex victor, animum virtute regens, iramque modestia vincens. Illud quoque Heroidum memoriter recolens :

Nota.

Ov. Her. iii. 85.

"Vince animos iramque tuam, qui cætera vincis";

et illud nobile Gaii Cæsaris eulogium alta mente revolveris, "Perierat totus orbis, nisi iram[1] finiret misericordia." Et cætera laude dignissima.

Nota.

Cap. XXII.

De regno Jerosolimitano per Saladini potentiam interim arctato[2] jam nimis et oppresso.

The Holy Land oppressed by Saladin.

Ut autem ad historiæ seriem redeamus et ad orientalem Palestinæ regionem paulisper stylum vertamus, dum hæc[3] in occidentis partibus geruntur, regnum Jerosolimitanum et Crucifixi patrimonium per Saldini cujusdam, viri magni in gente sua et magnifici, nimis amplam potentiam, qui, Damasco Babiloniam, Alexandriam, necnon et Ægyptum totam adjiciens bellicosisque Parthorum populis potenter imperans, regna quam plurima suæ ditioni, largitate magis et animositate quam hæreditaria proprietate, subjecerat, nobili de Vado Jacobi castello cum aliis quibusdam in marchia subversis, præter solitum arctari cœpit et enervari et infra pristinos regni fines longe substringi. Accesserat ad hæc incommoda quia regum[4] prosapia per invalitudinem hæredum et infirmitatem, sexus quoque fragilitatem, evacuata fere penitus fuerat et exinanita, necnon et discordia inter majores nostros, regem scilicet Widonem et comitem Tripolitanum, qui ad regnum aspirabat, peccatis urgentibus implacabiliter exorta, sicut ex litteris summi Pontificis in Angliam ob hoc directis, quas et hic inseruimus, clarescere potest.

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[1] *iram*] eam, MS.
[2] *arctato*] arrato, MS.
[3] *hæc*] hic, MS.
[4] *regum*] regnum, MS.

Cap. XXIII.

Literæ Urbani papæ in Angliam ob [*hoc*] *directæ.*

f. 134.

Letters of pope Urban III., urging the despatch of aid to the Templars, 3 Sept. 1186.

"Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis le- "gato, et episcopis et dilectis abbatibus et aliis ecclesia- "rum prælatis per Angliam constitutis, salutem et aposto- "licam benedictionem.

"Dum attendimus quot calamitatibus et pressuris orien- "talis ecclesia sic indesinenter exposita [sit] et quomodo "ad exterminium ejus gens impia paganorum totis viri- "bus elaboret, menti nostræ dolor ingens se ingerit; cum "pauci sint de cismarinis partibus, quod dolentes dicimus, "Christiani, qui eidem terræ succurrant, cujus desolationi "zelo fidei Christianæ summo opere formidare deberent. "Licet autem inimici crucis Christi omni tempore super "ipsius terræ sint exterminatione sollici[ti], nunc tamen "eam tanto fortius impugnare nituntur, quanto principes "ejusdem, qui eam tueri deberent, manifestius sentiunt mu- "tuis contentionibus detineri; quoniam carissimus in Christo "filius noster illustris Jerosolimorum rex et nobilis vir "Tripolitanus comes graves inter se inimicitias habeant et "in se credantur arma, nisi manus Domini eorum volun- "tati restiterit, conversuri. Nuper sane, sicut ad aures "nostras flebili dilecti filii nostri magistri Domus militiæ "Templi significatione pervenit, cum ipse et bonæ me- "moriæ R. quondam magister Jerosolimitani Hospitalis "cum quibusdam personis aliis habuissent de pace inter "prædictum regem et comitem reformanda tractatum,[1] con- "tigit ipsos audire Turcos in manu valida Christianorum "fines intrasse; et licet nonnisi centum et decem milites "secum haberent, zelo tamen[2] Christianitatis accensi cum "sex millibus Thurcorum pugnaverunt. Et tandem, prout "Domino placuit, prædictus[3] magister Hospitalis, et frater "Robertus Frenellus, mareschallus Templi, et frater Jaque- "linus, cum quinquaginta militibus et decem servientibus

The Master of the Hospitallers and others slain.

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[1] *reformanda tractatum*] reform- andam tractarum. MS.

[2] *tamen*] cum. MS.

[3] *prædictus*] predent, MS.

"Templi præter alios animas suas Domino reddiderunt; "et quidam etiam vivi in captionem[1] Thurcorum sunt, "quod [non] sine multa amaritudine cordis audivimus, "abducti. Unde, quia prædictus magister Templi, præter "personarum jacturam, gravissima equorum et armorum "damna in ipso conflictu se pertulisse proponit, et gentem "nefariam paganorum ad impugnationem præscriptæ terræ "fortius solito, juxta propositum suæ iniquitatis, accensam, "nos, quibus imminet principaliter et præcipue de conser-"vatione illius terræ sollicitudinem gerere, volentes eos ad "defensionem ejus reddere proniores, monemus fraterni-"tatem vestram, mandamus atque præcipimus, quatinus "principes et barones et fideles alios crebris monitis et
f. 134 *b*. "exhortationibus inducatis et injungatis eis [in] remissio-"nem peccatorum, ut Christianitati jam dictæ terræ pro "Deo et salute sua potenti manu succurrant, et fratribus "militiæ Templi in equis et armis, quibus terram illam "melius defendere valeant, non differant misericorditer "subvenire. Et eam super his sollicitudinem habeatis, "quod in operis efficacia comprobetur, et populus nobis "commissus de suffragiis quæ præscriptæ terræ et fratri-"bus ipsis impenderint et vos de verbo exhortationis ves-"træ præmia possitis consequi sempiterna. Dat. Veronæ, "III. Nonas Septembris."

Cap. XXIV.

De patriarcha Jerosolimitano propter Henricum regem ejusque[2] subsidium in Angliam transmisso.

Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, comes to England to implore aid, A.D. 1185.

Videntes itaque regni proceres et primates, Templi militiæ fratres et Hospitalis, tanta imminere pericula, communi omnium voto pariter et decreto propter Anglorum regem Henricum secundum patriarcham suum Eraclium transmiserunt, concessis eidem castellorum omnium et municipiorum, sive de Templo sive aliunde,

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[1] *captionem*] capcorm̄, MS.

[2] *ejusque*] usque, MS.

quæ ante expetierat, dominioque regni toto et subjectione. Fuerat enim apud gentiles nominis ejus olim incomparabili strenuitate fama terribilis; et ipse quoque de stirpe regia terræ illius, quam Andegavia peperit, originaliter propagatus. Præparatis igitur tanto itineri necessariis, ab orientali Asia ad extremos tendens Europæ fines, in Angliam demum duplici navigio, extra communem videlicet orbem, angulum occidentalis oceani remotissimum, non absque labore et periculo magno circa kalendas Februarii patriarcha pervenit. Qui [1] statim ad regem in urbe Wyntonia [2] humiliter accedens, claves urbis sacræ sacrique Dominici sepulchri, cum regio vexillo martioque signo, ex parte primorum terræ Palestinæ, tam fratrum scilicet militiæ Templi et Hospitalis quam [3] procerum patriæ cunctorum, præsentavit; necnon et totius tam cleri quam populi unanimi voto et acclamatione regni dominium cum castellis quoque quæ ante petierat eidem obtulit et subjectionem, supplicans in lacrimis et ad regia genua provolutus humiliter deplorans, quatinus ad terræ sanctæ, ab hostibus fidei jam desperanter afflictæ, specialisque patrimonii Christi Jesu subventionem misericorditer moveretur; [4] alioquin asserens, quod infra biennium post evenit, et mente plerumque præsaga malorum firmiter asseverans, regnum universum in [5] Saracenorum et Saldini, tam Egiptiorum quam Damascenorum tunc principis, manus sacrilegas in brevi devolvendum. Litteras etiam magnatum regni virorum, signis suis impressas, id totum testificantes seseque ex toto cum regno universo suo dominatui submittentes eidem porrexit. f. 135.

Offers Henry the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Ad hæc litteras summi Pontificis, qui tunc præfuit, Lucii, suasorias quidem ad hoc aggrediendum, sed et utinam persuasorias, districtum quoque in fine, propter obligationes olim super hoc factas et promissiones

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[1] *Qui . . . devolvendum*] In *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 26 (vol. v. p. 360).

[2] *Wyntonia*] Benedict (vol. i. p. 335) and R. de Diceto (vol. ii. p. 32) make the meeting take place at Reading.

[3] *quam*] quasi, MS.

[4] *moveretur*] moreretur, MS.; moveatur, *Exp. Hib.*

[5] *in*] *Exp. Hib.*; et, MS.

coram legatis et ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinalibus sacramento firmatas, præceptum sub interminatione continentes, ei similiter nuntii Papæ tunc portarunt, [in] hunc modum :—

Cap. XXV.

Litteræ Lucii papæ, tam monitoriæ quam minatoriæ, regi Henrico tunc directæ.[1]

Letter of pope Lucius III. to Henry in support of Heraclius, A.D. 1184.

" Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in " Christo filio Henrico illustri Anglorum regi salutem et " apostolicam benedictionem. Cum cuncti prædecessores tui " præ cæteris terræ principibus armorum gloria et animi " nobilitate longe retro claruerunt, eosque fidelium populus " habere in sua didicerit adversitate patronos, merito ad te " non tantum regni sed paternarum virtutum hæredem qua- " dam securitate recurritur, ubi populo Christiano imminere " periculum, immo exterminium, formidatur, ut per brachium " regiæ magnitudinis membris ejus impendatur præsidium, " qui, ut ad tantæ gloriæ et prælationis apicem per- " venires, sua pietate concessit, et te contra sui nominis " impugnatores nefarios murum inexpugnabilem ordinavit. " Proinde novit serenitas tua, jam crebris et molestis super " hoc pulsata querelis, qualiter terra Jerosolimitana, specialis " hæreditas Crucifixi, in qua nostræ salutis sunt pronun- " ciata mysteria et ipsius[2] exhibitione completa, cui[3] ille " qui cuncta condidit in sortem suam peculiari privilegio " deputavit, perfidæ et spurcissimæ gentis attrita et circum- " vallata pressuris, nisi ei celeri remedio succurratur, prona " sit ad ruinam ; et inde, quod absit, sustineat irreparabilem " religio Christiana jacturam. Ille enim Saladinus, sancti " et tremendi nominis immanissimus persecutor, ita spiritu " furoris excanduit et totius nequitiæ suæ vires ad inter- " necionem populi fidelis exercet, ut nisi immanitatis ejus " vehemens impetus, quasi abjectis obicibus, reprimatur,

[1] In Benedict, vol. i. p. 332; Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 300; W. of Newburgh, vol. i. p. 245.

[2] *ipsius*] ipsius rei, Bened., etc.

[3] *cui*] *sc.* Crucifixo; quam, Bened. etc.

" certam spem fiduciamque suscipiat, quod Jordanis influat " in os ejus et terra, aspersione vivifici sanguinis conse- " crata, spurcissimæ superstitionis ipsius contagio polluatur, " et, quam gloriosi et nobiles prædecessores tui a dominio " gentis incredulæ multis laboribus multisque periculis ex- " emerunt, rursus nefando tyranni nequissimi dominio sub- " jugatur. Ob hanc itaque necessitatis et imminentis dolo- " ris instantiam, magnificentiam tuam apostolicis litteris " duximus exorandam, immo dilatatis præcordiis in summa f. 135 *b*.
" acclamatione pulsandam, quatinus, ad honorem ipsius[1] " respiciens qui te constituit in sublime, et juxta nomen " magnorum, qui sunt in terra, nomen tibi contulit glo- " riosum, ad solationem[2] præfatæ terræ pietatis studio te " convertas et, ut ejus confusio in hac parte tollatur, qui " pro te in ipsa terra voluit haberi ludibrio, operam adhi- " beas[3] efficacem; quatinus prædecessorum tuorum vestigia " subsecutus, quam ipsi a principis tenebrarum faucibus " eruerunt, in cultu magni Dei per tuam diligentiam, auxi- " liante Domino, conservetur. Eo autem curiosius celsitudi- " nem tuam in tanta[4] oppressionis angustia convenit laborare,[5] " quod terram ipsam regis intelligis præsidio destitutam, " et totam spem suæ defensionis ipsius proceres in tuæ " magnitudinis duxerunt patrocinio collocandam. Quod inde " clarius tua serenitas potest agnoscere, quod summos terræ " illius et magnificos defensores, venerabilem fratrem nostrum " E[raclium] patriarcham et dilectum filium nostrum ma- " gistrum Hospitalis ad tuam excellentiam destinarunt, ut " ex ipsorūm præsentia considerata dignitate perpenderes, " quanta fuerit necessitatis angustia, pro qua eorum susti- " nent tam diu carere præsidio, ut per ipsos facilius ad " vota sua tuam devotionem inclinent. Viros igitur præ- " fatos, tanquam ab ipso Domino tibi destinatos, benigne " suscipias et debita caritate pertractes, eorumque postula- " tionibus tanto facilius acquiescas quanto suæ gravitatis " et honestatis intuitu favor est eis et gratia exhibenda. " Sane recolat prudentia tua et sollicita securaque medita- " tione revolvat promissionem illam qua[6] de impendendo

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[1] *ipsius*] ipsi, MS.

[2] *solationem*] desolationem, Bened., etc.

[3] *adhibeas*] adhibeatis, MS.

[4] *tanta*] cauta, MS.

[5] *laborare*] labore, MS.

[6] *qua*] quam, MS.

"saepe dictæ terræ præsidio tuam celsitudinem obligasti; et "ita in hac parte te cautum et studiosum exhibeas, ut te "in tremendo judicio tua conscientia non accuset, et ejus, qui "non fallitur, districti Judicis interrogatio non condemnet."

Henry defers his answer.

Quibus ita patratis, solita qua erga legatos extraneos semper liberalitate præcellebat, rex patriarcham cum magno, sicut decebat, honore suscepit; responsumque suum usque Londonias, quod caput est regni, propter quod et illuc concilium grande regni totius convocari jussit, ex industria proterminavit.

O quanta[1] tam regis quam regni gloria, quod prætermissis et præteritis tam imperatoribus quam terrarum regibus et principibus cunctis, tanquam in mundi medio non fuerit locus huic remedio, in hunc finalem orbis angulum et quasi
f. 136. secretis quibusdam oceani secessibus orbem alterum,[2] ad tantæ subventionis auxilia requirenda pervenitur!

O quanta et incomparabilis in terris regi gloria, nec terrena solum sed perpetua, si, statim omissis negotiis cunctis regnisque relictis et rebus universis, ad tantam Christi vocationem, Christi discipulus, tollens crucem suam, Christum fuisset omni posthabita dilatione secutus; a quo regni sceptrum et, quod majus est regno, tam gloriosam regni regendi gratiam suscepit in terris, illi regni sui terreni in hac necessitatis umbra jura conservans regnum ob hoc cœleste suscepturus! O si tanti regis patrimonium in hac necessitatis umbra tueri pro posse curaret in terris, de suo quam tutus incommod[it]atis urgentis articulo fieri posset, tanto patrono tantoque tutore digne munitus!

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[1] *O quanta*] Hence to the end of the chapter in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 26 (vol. v. p. 361).

[2] *alterum*] alterutrum, MS.

Cap. XXVI.

De verbis et monitis illius qui scripsit hæc regi Henrico dictis in hoc casu, ejusque responsis.

Contigit interea, rege silvestri indulgente venationi, cujus studio nimia delectari frequentia consueverat, cum[1] apud Clarendun, id est Clarum Montem, saltibus feras excire[2] pararet, genere suo Henrico Saxonum duce tunc forte cum ipso ibidem existente, [quod] ille qui scripsit hæc regem super adventu patriarchæ, multis audientibus, in hujuscemodi verba convenit:—"Multos "vidimus, rex, tempore nostro et plus solito magnorum "in Angliam adventus; sed majorem[3] omnium, et non "solum ad vestri verum etiam regni totius honorem "maximum, patriarchæ censemus adventum, tum quia "vir tantus et a partibus tam remotis huc advenit, "tum quia, prætermissis imperatoribus et terrarum "regibus cunctis, tantum nuntium et tam honorificum "vobis et terræ vestræ portavit." Respondit rex, quasi subsannans verbumque in tanta audientia dictum nec benevole suscipiens nec benigne:—"Si patriarcha," inquit, "vel alii ad nos veniunt, magis hic sua quam "nostra commoda quærunt." At ille inde, Britannica forte temeritate, subjecit:—"Pro maximo tibi, rex, "commodo reputare debes et honore, quod ad tanta "Christi obsequia præ cunctis terræ regibus solus eligi "meruisti." Ille vero, quasi ad jocos tunc a seriis se convertens:—"Audacter," inquit, "nos clerici ad arma "et pericula provocare possunt, quoniam ipsi ictus in "discrimine nullos suscipient, nec ulla quæ vitare "poterunt onerosa subibunt."

Conversation of the author with Henry on the patriarch's visit.

Nota.

Nota.

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[1] *cum*] eum, MS.
[2] *excire*] exire, MS.
[3] *majorem*] major, MS.

His autem auditis, statim a spe[1] decidi tota, quam ante quidem[2] magnam et cum desiderio magno conceperam. Speraveram enim quod ipse diebus nostris redempturus esset Israel; et Deum testem invoco quoniam, tam propter terræ sacræ retentionem et ab im-
f. 136 b. piorum manibus liberationem, quam ob regni quoque nostri et gentis honorem, illud magno opere concupieram. Id ipsum quoque totus[3] Anglorum populus cum summa voluntate desiderabat.

Cap. XXVII.

De responso Londoniis patriarchæ facto, et ejus toto labore frustrato.[4]

Henry's answer to the patriarch at London, 18 Mar. 1185.

Die vero Londoniis præfixo, multis quidem tam militaris ordinis quam plebis, [per] patriarchæ monita publicosque tam ejus quam viri venerabilis et sancti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Baldewini sermones ad populum suasorie factos, ad Christi obsequia consignatis, tandem responsum a rege patriarcha suscepit, quod regnum suum absque tutela et regimine destituere, terrasque suas transmarinas Francorum rapacitati, quibus exosus exstiterat, ei inpræsentiarum exponere tutum non erat. Porro de pecunia, tam illa quam olim ad partes illas sibi reservandam[5] præmiserat, quam et alia statim ei tradenda, ad terræ sacræ tuitionem copiose conferret. Cui patriarcha:—"Nil agis, O rex, huic[6] stare "consilio si perstiteris; quoniam in hunc modum nec te "salvabis, nec Christi patrimonium conservabis. Principem "enim quærere venimus, non pecuniam. Quælibet fere "mundi pars nobis pecuniam mittit; sed principem nulla. "Virum igitur appetimus qui pecunia indigeat, non pecu-"niam quæ viro." Sed quoniam nullum aliud a rege responsum patriarcha discere[7] potuit, ad aliud se denique

He declines to go, but offers money.

Nota.

The patriarch asks for one of his sons.

[1] *a spe*] aspere, MS.

[2] *quidem*] quidam, MS.

[3] *totus*] tot, MS.

[4] This and the following chapter are in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 27 (vol. v. p. 362), but at less length.

[5] *reservandam*] reservandum, MS.

[6] *huic*] huic rex, MS.

[7] *discere*] elicere, *Exp. Hib.*

convertit, rogans ut vel unum filiorum suorum, et si non alium, saltem natu minorem Johannem eis in subsidium principem daret, ut regium semen de Andegavensium stirpe descendens possit eis vel ex hoc surculo[1] redivivo germine suscitari. Ipse vero Johannes, quanquam in Hiberniam, ei a patre datam, jam tunc cum grandi expeditione mittendus foret, patrios ad pedes se provolvens et, ut Jerosolimam potius mitteretur, laudabiliter, ut fertur, efflagitans, non impetravit. John vainly begs to be sent.

O duræ cervicis hominem et incorrigibilem! O mentem obstinatæ malitiæ et pertinaciter inflexibilem! O deserendum a Domino, quem sic deseris; et gratia destituendum, quam ingratitudine demereris. Et ut verbis auctenticis te, rex, conveniam, numquid percussisti, miser, fœdus cum morte, et cum inferno pactum fecisti? Ne tardes, quæso, venire ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem. Subito enim ira illius et in tempore vindictæ disperdet te. An nescis, inquam, quia "dies Domini sicut fur veniet," in quo recipiet quisque secundum opera sua? An diem illum tremendi judicii, in quo trement et angeli, cum[2] ante tribunal Judicis, cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, præsentaberis in hæc verba, "Ecce homo et opus ejus "cum eo!" tremendum non judicas et horrendum? An ignoras, vel potius notum dissimulas, quia "potentes potenter tormenta patientur," et quod "fortioribus fortior instat[3] cruciatio?" "Nec enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Dominus"; quia "non "salvatur rex per multam [virtutem], et gigas non "salvabitur in multitudine virtutis suæ." Reflexions on Henry's conduct. 1 Thess. v. 2. f. 137. Sap. vi. 7-9. Ps. xxxii. 16.

[1] *surculo*] sarculo, MS.
[2] *cum*] eum, MS.
[3] *instat*] exstat, MS.

Cap. XXVIII.

De patriarchæ monitis et comminationibus in regem Henricum quasi prophetico spiritu ter prolatis.

The patriarch's prophetic warnings;

Videns itaque patriarcha quia nihil proficeret, videns quia neque mel de petra, nec oleum de saxo elicere prævaleret, hæc in regem multis audientibus comminatorio pariter et prophetico spiritu verba deprompsit:—"Hactenus inter "mundi principes incomparabili gratia, rex, gloriose reg- "nasti; et tuus usque nunc honor ad regiæ celsitudinis "apicem magis ac magis accrevit. Sed[1] proculdubio ad "hanc experientiam in qua deficis reservato, et ob hoc a "Domino quem deseris derelicto gratiaque penitus desti- "tuto, de cætero gloria in ærumnam et usque ad finalem "halitum honor in ignominiam convertetur."

repeated at Dover.

Apud Dovoriam autem, cum jam repatriare pararet et properaret [et] nihil præter auræ beneficium prospere ad navigandum exspectaret, regi,[2] qui eum eo usque in propria persona cum honore deduxerat[3] (puta qui blanditiis, ut[4] moris habebat, et beneficiis honoris exhibiti offensas ejusdem placare audivisset[5]), beneficia ei a Domino collata et Domino ab eo retributa, quasi animi pondus exonerans animamque suam liberans, coram paucis tamen et in privato, memoriter recapitulando proposuit, qualiter ei Deus contra tot et tantos detentores in brevi regnum restituit et pacificavit, ac potestatem ejus longe lateque dilatavit; qualiter etiam honorem ejus et gloriam, successus ubique conferens et victorias, ampliavit; et qualiter e contra ipse domino suo regi Ludowico nunquam fidem servavit, unde non solum toties ipsum guerris injuste

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[1] *Sed*] Sed tibi, *Exp. Hib.*
[2] *regi*] regem, MS.
[3] *deduxerat*] deduxerit, MS.
[4] *ut*] aut, MS.
[5] *audivisset*] Perhaps "studuisset" should be read, as suggested in Bouquet.

vexando, per quas tot cædes et incendia pervenerunt, terras ei plurimas abstulit, sed etiam ad injuriarum cumulum sponsam suam Alienor indebite subtraxit et ex tali copula suscepit hæredes, ac si diceret:

"Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos"; Ovid, i. Amor. x. 48.

de occisione quoque beati Thomæ, quam[1] quasi manu propria, lictores[2] ad hoc mittendo, perpetravit; et de hoc demum honore tanto[3] post tot beneficia Dominique mandato quod recusavit. Cum autem torvis ad hoc ipsum oculis, ut consueverat, in ira rex respiceret, obtulit ei caput collumque tetendit dicens:—"Fac," inquit, "de me quod de beato Thoma fecisti. "Adeo namque cupio quod a te mihi caput ampute-"tur in Anglia, sicut a Saracenis in Palestina, quia "tu omni Sarraceno proculdubio pejor es." Respondit rex cum juramento, quia "si omnes homines terræ "meæ in unum corpus collecti essent et uno loque-"rentur ore, non auderent mihi ista proponere." Cui patriarcha:—"Putas igitur quod te diligant, qui opes "tuas, et non opera, curant? Prædam, non hominem, "sequitur ista turba; potestatem utique[4] venerantur, "non personam." Tunc[5] autem dixit ei rex, quia propter filios suos, qui statim in absentem[6] insurgerent et terras suas occuparent, discedere nunc et iter illud arripere non poterit. Respondit patriarcha: "Nec "mirum; quia de diabolo venerunt, et ad diabolum "ibunt." Et tunc iterum ea de honore suo in summum hactenus culmen adaucto, sed amodo de die in diem decrescendo et brevi tempore durando, subjecit.

His altercation with Henry.

Nota.

f. 137 b.

Nota.

Hanc itaque[7] propheticam comminationem, quam utinam, exemplo regis Ninive, per pœnitentiam evacuasset sententiamque mutari fecisset, vir sanctus regi, nihil ex contin-

His warnings three times repeated.

[1] *quam*] quamquam, MS.
[2] *lictores*] lectores, MS.
[3] *tanto*] tot tanto, MS.
[4] *utique*] atque, MS.
[5] *Tunc*] tu, MS.
[6] *absentem*] absente, MS.
[7] *itaque*] igitur itaque, MS.

gentibus omittendo, ter emisit: primo Londoniis, ut diximus; deinde Dovoriæ; tertio vero apud Chinonense castrum in transmarinis. Sed utinam patriarcha vir fuisset non habens spiritum, et mendacium potius esset locutus; vel magis sententia[m] comminationis fuisset pœnitentia secuta quam dispositionis.

They are fulfilled.

Ut autem ad evidentiam majorem paucis summatim anticipemus quæ plenius postmodum prosequemur, sicut a purgatione[1] veritatis est propositum, sic vidimus in brevi postmodum divina dispositione completum. Cum etenim septem fere lustra regnando compleverit, sex data sunt ei ad mundanam gloriam, ad conversationis[2] tolerantiam, ad devotionis experientiam; septimum vero, tanquam servo ingrato, tanquam abjecto prorsus et reprobato, cessit ad vindictam, cessit ad ærumnam, cessit ad ignominiam.

Misfortunes of Henry's later years.

Prov. xvi. 18.

Secundo namque septimi lustri anno, statim in ipso tanti præconis adventu, quoniam "ante ruinam exaltabitur cor," primus ejusdem, quem tanta diligentia procuraverat, de filio scilicet Johanne in Hiberniam mittendo, pereuntibus opera pariter et impensa, cum utriusque confusione conatus evanuit et ad plenum non profecit; tertio, qui terras nunquam antea perdiderat, sed semper suæ ditioni potenter adjecerat, Philippo Francorum rege, quanquam annis adhuc tenello, similiter[3] in ipsum arma sumente et damna paterna resarciente, Alverniam fere totam amisit; quarto, Castellum Radulphi et Berri fere totam; quinto vero septimi lustri anno et ab adventu patriarchæ quarto, urbes Cenomannen-
f. 138. sem et Turonensem cum castellis multis et demum seipsum.
Ps. ci. 11. Juxta illud Psalmistæ, "A facie iræ et indignationis tuæ,
Ps. lxxii. 18. "quia elevans allisisti me"; et illud, "Dejecisti eos, dum
Hom. in Ev. xiii. 5. "allevarentur"; illud Gregorii, "Quos Deus diu ut convertantur tolerat, non conversos durius damnat."

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[1] *purgatione*] præcone, *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *conversationis*] conversionis, *Exp. Hib.*

[3] *similiter*] viriliter, *Exp. Hib.*

Cap. XXIX.

Descriptio[1] *Anglorum* [*regis*] *Henrici secundi.*

Ad ampliorem autem omnium explanationem, hominis hujus descriptionem quam in vaticinali *Expugnationis Hibernicæ* libro posuimus, cum alio quoque capitulo de adventibus in Angliam et eventibus, hic insertam lector inveniet; quam quia principi adhuc superstiti una cum libello periculose magis quam fructuose porreximus, et discordias[2] quidem more historico juxta veri tenorem non tacuimus et dicta tamen castigans[3] verbis excusatoriis temperavimus. Expressam[4] vero regis naturam, et tam interioris hominis quam exterioris proprietatem, æternitati depingere non indignum reputavimus, ut, qui insignia ejusdem gesta in posterum audire gestierint, imaginarium quoque vultum ejusdem præ oculis gerant. Tantum quippe temporis nostri decus transitorie perire præsens historia non permittit; impetrata tamen veritatis[5] explicandæ venia, citra quam omnis historia non solum auctoritatem sed et nomen historiæ demeretur. Naturam enim non mutari[6] arte professus, auctoritatem[7] pictor amittit,[8] si, diligentius apta dum protrahit, minus idonea verecundiæ[9] prætermittit. Unde et quoniam

Description of Henry II.

"vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est,
"Qui minimis urgetur,"

Hor., Sat. I. iii. 68.

nihil humanum a se alienum sapiens putet. Semper enim mundanis in rebus, quia nulla sub cœlo perfecta felicitas, et mala sunt vicina bonis et vitia virtutibus distinguuntur. Sicut ergo sive naturæ sive industriæ bona mentem bene compositam audita delectant, sic recitata bonis contraria non

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[1] *Descriptio*] Descripto, MS.
[2] *discordias*] discordia, MS.
[3] *castigdns*] castigatis, MS.
[4] *Expressam*] Hence to the end of the chapter in *Exp. Hib.*, i. 46 (vol. v. p. 301).
[5] *veritatis*] veritate, MS.
[6] *enim non mutari*] enimvero imitari, *Exp. Hib.*
[7] *auctoritatem*] auctoritate, MS.
[8] *pictor amittit*] *Exp. Hib.*; om. MS.
[9] *verecundiæ*] verecunde, *Exp. Hib.*

offendant. Sed quoniam, juxta philosophicum illud, "Colere "officiis oportet, non exasperare[1] verbis, potestatem," et illud comicum, "Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit," meticulosa nimirum res est quantalibet occasione in illum allegare, qui potest relegare, arduum opus et periculosum magis quam fructuosum arripui, multis illum verbis describere, qui uno potest verbo proscribere. Gratiosum quippe foret, et nostras longe vires excedens, veritatem in singulis non supprimere, et in nullo tamen principis animum exasperare.[2]

Ter., And. i. 1. 41.

His personal appearance.

Erat igitur Anglorum rex Henricus secundus vir subrufus, cæsius,[3] amplo capite et rotundo, oculis glaucis, ad iram torvis et rubore suffusis, facie ignea, voce quassa, collo ab humeris aliquantulum demisso, pectore quadrato, brachiis validis, corpore carnoso, et, naturæ magis quam gulæ vitio, citra tumorem enormem et torporem omnem, moderata quadam immoderantia ventre præambulo.[4] Erat enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius, et parcimoniæ, quoad principi licuit, per omnia datus; et ut hanc naturæ injuriam industria reprimeret ac mitigaret carnisque vitium animi virtute levaret, bello plusquam intestino tanquam in se conjurans, immoderata corpus vexatione torquebat. Nam præter bellorum tempora, quæ frequenter immineba[n]t, quibus, quod rebus agendis supererat, vix id[5] tantillum quieti dabat, pacis quoque tempore sibi nec pacem ullam nec requiem indulgebat. Venationi namque trans modestiam deditus, summo diluculo equo cursore transvectus, nunc saltus lustrans, nunc silvas penetrans, nunc montium juga transcendens, dies ducebat inquietos; vespere vero domi receptum, vel ante cœnam vel post, rarissime sedentem conspexeris. Post tantas namque fatigationes totam statione continua curiam[6] lassare consueverat. Sed quoniam hoc "adprime in vita utile, ut ne quid "nimis," nullumque remedium simpliciter bonum, cum tibiarum pedumque tumore frequenti, recalcitrantium ad hoc

f. 138 *b*.

His habits.

Ter., And. i. 1. 34.

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[1] *exasperare*] exasperate, MS.

[2] *exasperare*] non exasperare, *Exp. Hib.*

[3] *cæsius*] scesius, MS.; with the marginal note "Scesii dicuntur legi- "tinosi (*sc.* lentiginosi), quia "faciem habent quasi scesam." *Cf.* vol. v. p. 302, note 2.

[4] *præambulo*] So also in one MS. of *Exp. Hib.*, and interlined in two others, the rest reading "præamplo."

[5] *vix id*] *Exp. Hib.*; vir ad, MS.

[6] *curiam*] *Exp. Hib.*; om. MS.

jumentorum ictibus aucta læsione, cæteras id ipsum corporis incommoditates accelerabat et, si non aliam, matrem malorum multorum atque ministram certe vel senectutem.

His stature.

Staturæ vir erat inter mediocres; quod nulli filiorum contingere potuit, primævis ambobus paulo mediocritatem excedentibus, junioribus vero duobus infra subsistentibus.

His eloquence and learning.

Citra animi turbationes et iracundiæ motus, princeps eloquentissimus; et, quod his temporibus conspicuum est, litteris eruditus, et cætera.

Cap. XXX.

Notabiles in Anglia nostri temporis eventus.[1]

Notable events in England in the author's time.

Notabiles[2] igitur nostri temporis in Angliam adventus et memoria dignos eventus occasionaliter interserere,[3] et quasi sub epilogo in medium deducere, non indignum reputavimus. In primis itaque detentorum Anglicani regni contra legitimum hæredem Henricum, Henrici regis ex filia Matillide nepotem, inopinatus accidit occasus; et primo tam militis insignis Eustacii, Stephani regis filii et generi sive Francorum sororii[4] regis Lodovici, quam matris ejusdem reginæ Matillidis et comitissæ Boloniensis subita in fata concêssio.

Deinde Stephani regis Angliæ et Henrici ducis Normanniæ concors ad invicem facta est adoptio.[5] Gloriosa statim ducis in regem sublimatio, et Henrici secundi coronatio. f. 139.

Nobilis castri Burgensis supra Sabrinum fluvium obsidio; A.D. 1155. et militis egregii Hugonis de Mortuo Mari, terribili cunctis exemplo, ad deditionem compulsio.

Quid plura? ad aspera complananda et fortia confundenda, prosperis ubique casibus, sicut regni detentorum, sic subita pacis ejusdem turbatorum omnium, et tam fratrum primo, quam postea quoque filiorum, eversio.

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[1] The greater part of this chapter in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 31 (vol. v. p. 372). It also forms cap. 29 of *Symb. Elect.*, iii. (vol. i. p. 393).

[2] *Notabiles*] *Exp. Hib.;* Nobiles, MS.

[3] *interserere*] intersere, MS.

[4] He married Constance, daughter of Louis VI. and sister of Louis VII.

[5] After this in *Exp. Hib.* follows a sentence about the death of Stephen, &c.

Notable events. A.D. 1157. Apud Venodociam, bellica in incertum ludente fortuna, non absque militum multorum in arcto silvestri juxta Koleshulle, id est Carbonis collem, dispendio, principis Oenei subactio.

A.D. 1159. Quanquam inutilis, sumptuosa tamen et nobilis apud Tolosam expeditio. Inter Lodovicum Francorum regem et Henricum Anglorum principem, varia utriusque partis deliratione, frequens bellici certaminis altercatio.

A.D. 1163. In australis Kambriæ finibus, Anglorum rege conante,[1] interventu [2] Oenei avunculi sui apud Pencadeir, id est Cathedræ caput, principis Resi deditio.

A.D. 1164. Apud Clarendunam Cantuariorum archipræsulis Thomæ et suffraganeorum antistitum consuetudinum,[3] quas avitas [4] vocant, verbo tenus et scripto non spontanea sed extorta [5] concessio. Tunc impletum est illud Merlini Silvestris [6] vaticinium, "Et linguæ taurorum abscidentur." Apud Northamptonam in patrem, crucis bajulum et Crucifixi jura tuentem, injuriosa curiæ totius conclamatio; et eadem nocte clandestina ejusdem in exilium discessio.[7]

A.D. 1165. Reginaldi, Coloniensis [8] episcopi [9] et imperatoris cancellarii, ab imperatore Fretherico ad Anglorum regem transmissio. Qui inter nepotem imperatoris, Henricum scilicet, tam Saxoniæ ducem quam Balvariæ, et primævam regis filiam Matillidem matrimonii contrahendi suasor efficax factus est et persuasor; schismatis quoque, quo tunc Alemannica exorbitabatur [10] ecclesia, factus incentor, nec obtentor.

A.D. 1169. Contra Petri tamen cathedram Cantuariæque præsulem non longe post regis edicto publica per regnum pejeratio.

A.D. 1167. Nec mora; nuntii ducis, tam comes scilicet Guncellinus, quam alii præpotentes Saxoniæ viri, propter filiam regis in Angliam venerunt.

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[1] *conante*] tonante, *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *interventu*] intervente, MS.

[3] *consuetudinum*] consuetudines, MS.

[4] *quas avitas*] *Exp. Hib.*; om. MS.

[5] *extorta*] exorta, MS.

[6] *Silvestris*] Ambrosii, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] After this in *Exp. Hib.* follows a prophecy of Merlin Celidonius.

[8] *Coloniensis*] Soloniensis, MS.

[9] *episcopi*] archiepiscopi, *Exp. Hib.*

[10] *exorbitabatur*] exortabatur, MS.; exorbitabat, *Exp. Hib.*

Henrici tertii, filii Henrici, in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præjudicium, celebrata Londoniis ab Eboracensi archipræsule Rogero coronatio. Notable events. A.D. 1170.

Nuntii de Hispania filiam regis, id est Alienor Anfulso, regi Toletani et Castellæ, legitime copulandam obnixe postulantes et impetrantes advenere. A.D. 1169.

Dermecii, Lageniæ principis, in exilium depulsi ad Anglorum regem accessio; et tam Stephanidæ primo, quam Ricardi comitis subsequenter,[1] in Hiberniam transfretatio. A.D. 1166. f. 139 b.

Apud Powisensem provinciam nobilis Albi Monasterii expeditio; et ejusdem, non absque damnosa obsidum [2] demembratione et hostium quamplurium interemptione, exuberante pluvialium aquarum inundatione, indemnis reversio. A.D. 1165.

Martyrium Thomæ; crebra miraculorum coruscatio. A.D. 1170.

Nobilissimi viri et utraque simul, tam genii simul quam ingenii, tam avi [3] quam atavi, nobilitate præditi, et regia stirpe præclari, Henrici Guintoniensis episcopi apud Guintoniam felici fine decessio. A.D. 1171.

Regis in Hiberniam excursus. Conspiratio tam procerum in principem, quam filiorum in parentem. Duorum cardinalium in Normanniam adventus, ut de martyris morte scrutinium facerent.

Regis reversio, et tam subita ab Hibernia in Kambriam, a Kambria in Loegriam,[4] a Loegria [5] in Normanniam transvolatio; et repentina tam cardinalium quam Francorum regis complacatio.[6] A.D. 1172.

Prima regis junioris cum duobus fratribus suis in Franciam a patre discessio. Belli biennalis et plusquam civilis inaudita [7] regis et inopinata tam de hostibus victoria quam de victis misericordia; sicut in fine prioris libri [8] ante regis descriptionem, de captis tam [9] Cestriæ comite quam Laycestriæ, necnon et Albaniæ rege, dilucida brevitate declaravimus. A.D. 1173.

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[1] *Ricardi comitis subsequenter*] postea quoque Ric. com., *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *obsidum*] obsidium, MS.

[3] *avi*] animi, *Exp. Hib.* (see note).

[4] *Loegriam*] Loegeram, MS.

[5] *Loegria*] Leogera, MS.

[6] *complacatio*] complatio, MS.

[7] *inaudita*] *Exp. Hib.*; mandata, MS.

[8] *in fine prioris libri*] This reference applies only to the *Exp. Hib.*, i. 45. The passage here is at p. 164.

[9] *tam*] quam, MS.

Notable events. A.D. 1175-6. Hugucionis Petri Leonis, tituli Sancti Angeli cardinalis, in Angliam transmissi legatio; sub quo concilium totius Angliæ cleri Londoniis convocatum, propter contentionem inter archiepiscopos ibidem obortam,[1] Ricardum scilicet Cantuariensem et Rogerum Eboracensem, de primatiæ dignitate et prima cathedrarum sede, allegatis demum hinc inde tam pugnis quam baculis et virgis, aborsum fecit.

A.D. 1176. Nuntii Guillelmi regis Siculi, tam episcopus scilicet Capuanus[2] quam Diaferus electus Trojanus, necnon et comes Florius, propter Johannam regis filiam juniorem suo principi copulandam advenere.[3]

A.D. 1177. Nuntii regum Hispaniæ, Castellæ scilicet et Navariæ, qui super terris quibusdam de Castella,[4] unde inter ipsos magna fuerat oborta contentio, se Anglorum regis arbitrio standos firmiter compromiserant, in Angliam venerunt. Unde et rex, convocatis in urbe Londoniensi viris[5] peritis et sapientibus regni totius ordinis utriusque juris,[6] quoniam[7] causarum merita partium assertione panduntur, auditis hinc inde utriusque partis allegationibus ab advocatis et causarum patro-
f. 140. nis utrimque peroptimis (quorum unus tamen inter alios famosissimus, Petrus Cardonensis, qui ex parte Navariæ principis venerat, mira eloquentia præpolluit), rex, sapienti fretus consilio, media statuens incedere via,[8] litem dirimere transactione curavit, ut aliquo dato aliquove retento jactura neuter læderetur enormi, sed, sicut ab utroque fuerat judex electus, sic de utriusque, si fieri posset, factus indemnitate sollicitus. Igitur, transactione formata et in scriptum redacta, ad cautelam judiciale quoque scribi fecit examen; ut, si forte pars alterutra transactionem[9] stare recusaret, demum diffinitiva sententia lis[10] dirimeretur.

A.D. 1179. Adventus Lodovici Francorum regis in Angliam, qui Cantuariam peregre profectus martyris egregii, quem in vita suffragiis exilii tempore tanta diligentia sustentaverat,

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[1] *obortam*] obortum, MS.

[2] The ambassadors were Arnulf, bishop of *Capaccio*, *Elias*, bishop-elect of Troy, and Florius de Camerota (see Benedict, i. p. 115, note 7).

[3] *advenere*] advenire, MS.

[4] *de Castella*] MS.; et castellis, *Exp. Hib.*

[5] *viris*] juris, *Exp. Hib.*

[6] *juris*] viris, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] *quoniam*] quam, MS.

[8] *via*] *Exp. Hib.*; in, MS.

[9] *transactionem*] transactioni, *Exp. Hib.*

[10] *lis*] *Exp. Hib.*; om. MS.

ejusdem in morte suffragia devote postulaturus accessit. Et scypho aureo, tam artis quam materiæ majestate non infimo, in loco ubi sacrum corpus reconditum fuerat decenter oblato, cum ad martyris tumbam prostratus aliquamdiu declinasset et in dextro lateralis marmoreique lapidis foramine aptum coronæ caput diutius apposuisset, demum ab oratione resurgens, ut peregrinationis suæ memoriam perpetua largitione muniret, astantibus rege Anglorum Henrico et Flandrensium comite Philippo,[1] necnon et loci ejusdem tam archipræsule quam conventus priore, cum aliis viris magnis, Cantuariensi cœnobio centum vini modios annuatim impendit.[2] Notable events.

Secunda discessio regis Henrici tertii et comitis Gaufredi; et mors inopinata regis junioris apud Martellum. A.D. 1183.

Adventus Coloniensis archiepiscopi Godefridi,[3] cum Philippo Flandrensium comite, Cantuariam peregre profecti. A.D. 1184.

Mors comitis Gaufredi. A.D. 1186.

Adventus Eraclii patriarchæ; et prima Johannis filii regis in Hiberniam transfretatio. A.D. 1185.

Hæc igitur fere omnia, sicut per ordinem sunt hic disposita, sic non longis ab invicem temporum interstitiis nostris[4] diebus acciderunt et annorum spatio quasi triginta tres.[5]

Cap. XXXI.

Quod, si finis eventuum[6] felix fuisset, historia quoque commendabilis esset.

O quam feliciter successisse probaverim, si ille, cujus ad gloriam hæc propemodum cuncta contigerant, quem adeo quasi blandiendo in singulis fortuna, si quid tamen fortuna est, in tot articulis tam fortunate provexit, vitæ temporalis comœdiam felici fine compleverit, et duplicata, immo multiplicata, favoris gratia a tanta terrestri gloria transire The author's reflexions on the change in Henry's fortunes.

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[1] *Philippo*] Philippi, MS.

[2] After this in *Exp. Hib.* follows a prophecy of Merlin.

[3] *Godefridi*] See above, p. 158, note 3.

[4] *nostris*] vestris, MS.

[5] *tres*] trium, *Exp. Hib.*

[6] *eventuum*] eventum, MS.

voluerit[1] ad æternam. Hoc autem perfacile fieri potuisse crediderim, si[2] ad nobilem illam Christi creationem,[3] qui quasi proximis[4] gratiæ suæ muneribus remunerari[5] petiit in terris, citra lapsus omnes statim obtemperando se promptum ac devotum ostendisset. Res etenim regiæ semper hactenus
f. 140 *b*. ad gloriæ cumulum continuo incremento stetere; abhinc autem variata fortuna[6] paulatim relapsæ multa præter solitum detrimenti damna sensere.

Examples of Pompey, Spectandum quippe est viro prudenti, quia fortunæ favor instabilis et tota volubilis, cujus experientiam virentis[7] ætatis viri perpauci, longævi vero temporis vix ullus evadit. Quid[8] enim magni gloriam exstinxit, qui tot in orbe triumphis[9] excelluerat, tantam in urbe præcellentiam obtinuerat, nisi quod annorum accidit antiquitate, ut ipsum, qui summos olim dignitatis gradus ascenderat, quos nec ultra sublimari, nec in illis diutius stare permissum fuerat, ab alto necesse fuerit[10] ad ima corruere? Unde post[11] tantam dictatoris et optimi civis eminentiam, post multas et varias de gente victorias, tanquam fastidiente jam desertus a fortuna, tam occidentali tandem quam orientali depulsus imperio, vir olim victoriosus, postmodum ignominiose victus, occubuit.
Cæsar, and Alexander. Et, e diverso, quid[12] Julio, quid Macedoni Alexandro, tam amplis laudum titulis gloriam in ævum accumulavit, nisi quod in axis culmine, nisi quod in arce[13] victoriæ jam constitutus[14] fortunæ malitiam volubilemque descensum maturata morte prævenit uterque?[15] Spectandum quoque et semper in animo principi fixum habendum, quoniam clemens ille Salvator[16] omnium et Gubernator, quanquam longanimis sit exspectator, puta peccantium plus conversionem appetens quam eversionem, tamen sicut conversis et correctis pius indultor, sic perversis et pertinacibus in terris plerumque pœnam inchoans gravis est ultor et punitor.

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[1] *voluerit*] valuerit, *Exp. Hib.*
[2] *si*] sed, MS.
[3] *creationem*] citationem, *Exp. Hib.*
[4] *proximis*] pro tantis, *Exp. Hib.*
[5] *remunerari*] renumerari, MS.
[6] *fortuna*] sorte, *Exp. Hib.*
[7] *virentis*] virentes, MS.
[8] *Quid*] quod, MS.
[9] *triumphis*] triumphus, MS.
[10] *fuerit*] fuit, *Exp. Hib.*
[11] *post*] potest, MS.
[12] *quid*] quod, MS.
[13] *arce*] arte, MS.
[14] *constitutus*] constitutis, MS.
[15] *uterque*] utrique, MS.
[16] *Salvator*] plasmator, *Exp. Hib.*

His autem non incongrue, non inutiliter hic interpositis, ad historicam eorum quæ occasionaliter anticipavimus executionem, ut tota videlicet Henrici [1] secundi finalis hic area percurratur, revertamur. In primis itaque post [2] patriarchæ discessum, missio Johannis in Hiberniam ignominiosum, ut diximus, sortita est effectum, quemadmodum in historia *Expugnationis Hibernicæ* manifeste declaratur. Nec mirum; qui ad tantam Christi vocationem et in ipsa quoque tanti præconis absentia filium, quem pro se saltem versus orientem mittere debuerat et in Sarracenos, versus occidentem quæ sunt mundi quærentem, non quæ Christi Jesu, infausto misit omine [3] et in Christianos. Proh pudor atque dolor, si vel tantam expeditionem ante eandem, quam in miseros tunc misit fideles et infructuose, ad Christi patrimonium et Christianitatis subsidium destinasset, Terra Sacra, a canibus immundis et paganorum spurcitiis nondum profanata,[4] in sua procul dubio integritate retenta fuisset. Ut autem ea, quæ tribus sequentibus annis ad divinam ultionem et terribile cunctis exemplum tanti viri ruinam tam efficaciter expleverunt, clarius elucescant, secundam Distinctionem hic terminantes et tertiam inchoantes, paulo remotius ordiamur.

John's ill success in Ireland the result of his father's neglect of the crusade.

f. 141.

[1] *Henrici*] bñ, MS.
[2] *post*] est, MS.
[3] *omine*] omen, MS.
[4] *profanata*] prophata, MS.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA TERTIÆ DISTINCTIONIS.

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[1] *Cisalpinis*] eis Alpinis, MS.

[2] *astronomicis*] astromicis, MS.

[3] *malitiam*] miliciam, MS. See the heading to the chapter below, p. 244.

[4] *converso*] conversio, MS.

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[1] *soldani*] solani, MS.

[2] *tota per*] per tota, MS.

[3] *inedia*] See below, at the head of the chapter. The MS. here reads "in ecclesia."

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[1] *tam*] quam, MS.
[2] *De*] te, MS.
[3] *fictis*] fictus, MS.

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO IN TERTIA DISTINCTIONE.

Hactenus ad summas rotæ circumferentias qualiter ascensum non merita dederunt, sed misericordia, non virtus hominis aut[1] vitæ dignitas, sed gratia potius, superna diutius conversionem exspectans tolerantia, declaravimus. Nunc autem, qualiter ad ima rotæ descendit et ignominiosum denique sortitur exitum obstinata malitia, pagina præsens explicabit. Habeat igitur ex præmissis, unde respiret et unde speret, mens humana, quamdiu siquidem quasi de conversione spes concipitur et correctione. Habeat hic autem, unde tremat ac timeat, finalis impietas; habeat, inquam, unde casum formidet atque ruinam, reprobata perversitas.

The author will now tell of Henry's reverses and inglorious end.

[1] *aut*] an, MS.

INCIPIT TERTIA DISTINCTIO.[1]

Cap. I.

De ultima inter reges Lodovicum et Henricum collocutione, et lacrimabili ibidem[2] *Lodovici regis ad Dominum supplicatione.*

Last interview between Louis VII. and Henry.

f. 142.

Lodovicus itaque Francorum rex, post multas inter ipsum et Anglorum regem variis ex causis motas discordias, et ex discordiis graves interdum inimicitias, ex utrisque vero gravissimos quoque bellorum plerumque conflictus, demum in ultimo quod inter ipsos fuerat colloquio, senio jam et valetudine confectus, Anglorum regem coram Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo et duobus ejusdem fratribus,[3] comite Theobaldo et comite Flandrensium Philippo, in hæc verba convenit: "In multis " mihi, rex, ab initio regni vestri et ante, spreta " fidelitatis et hominii reverentia—sed, ut de aliis " taceam, super terris præter jus et æquum occupatis— " injurias irrogastis. Sed[4] præ cunctis injuriis illa de " Alvernia longe major est et manifestior; quam citra

[1] *Incipit Tertia Distinctio*] not in MS.

[2] *ibidem*] see list of chapters above, p. 222; idem, MS.

[3] *duobus ejusdem fratribus*] There is a difficulty here, as Philip, count of Flanders, was not a brother of the archbishop. The last-recorded interview between the two kings (exclusive of Henry's attendance upon Louis during his visit to Canterbury in 1179) was at Graçay, in Nov. 1177. If this is the occasion referred to, Philip of Flanders could not have been present, as he was then in the Holy Land. It is suggested in Bouquet that the name of Henry, count of Champagne, has dropped out (above, p. 137, n. 2).

[4] *Sed*] si, MS.

" jus omne contra coronam Franciæ tam impudenter " detinere præsumitis. Porro viribus de cætero et " armis ob ætatis ingruentiam hanc terram vel alias " recuperare non prævaleo, querelæ tamen et causæ " non renuntio. Quin immo coram Deo et baronibus " his regni nostrisque fidelibus jura coronæ publice " protestor, et hoc ex nomine, Alverniam in primis, " Berri cum Castello Radulfi, Gisortium cum Vigesino " Normannico, supplicans regi regum, qui mihi hære- " dem dedit, quatinus, qui mihi peccatis exigentibus " jura coronæ revocare non dedit, saltem hæredi meo " illud indulgeat. Causam itaque regni Deo et hæ- " redi meo ac baronibus coronæ de cætero committo." Et sic reversus ad suos cum lacrimis colloquium terminavit.

Appeal of Louis to Heaven.

Verum lacrimosa oratio et justa boni viri deprecatio adeo apud Dominum exaudiri meruit, ut non solum adversus Anglorum regem, verum etiam universos regni proceres, dispersa revocare et, tanquam in vindictam divinitus indultam, filio datum sit,[1] etiam in teneris annis, eorum qui simplicitate paterna nimis insolenter abusi fuerant superbiam frangere, in sublimium potenter colla calcare. Quod et viro bono ac regi Christianissimo Lodovico, tanquam in senectutis solatium et lacrimosæ querimoniæ pariter et petitionis effectum, per visionem[2] in somnis parum ante obitum suum in hunc modum declaravit Deus. Videbatur[3] enim sibi videre, collectis in præsentia sua tam Anglorum rege quam baronibus regni Franciæ majoribus cunctis, filium et hæredem suum Philippum procedentem in medium, baronibus per ordinem, qui jura coronæ suæ detinebant, humanum sanguinem in cipho aureo propinantem; incipientem quoque a stirpe materna, Blesensibus scilicet avunculis suis, et duce Burgundiæ, nec non et

He sees in a vision the future triumph of his son.

Nota.

[1] *sit*] est, MS.
[2] *visionem*] visionis, MS.
[3] This vision is repeated from Dist. i. (p. 134).

matre propria, Blesensium sorore, et sic per comitem Flandriæ Philippum consequenter transeundo, poculum usque ad Anglorum denique regem Henricum producentem. Mira siquidem visio, quoniam eodem ordine quo visus est eis potum illum sanguineum propinasse, defuncto in brevi post patre suo, separatim invasit, et f. 142 b. jura coronæ contra tot et tantos detentores tam viriliter etiam in tenera ætate revocavit, tanquam in illos qui pia[1] patris lenitate et mansuetudine nimis insolenter et infideliter abusi fuerant filius a Domino vindex datus.

Cap. II.

De terrarum a Philippo Lodovici filio, juxta patris supplicationem et visam inde prius visionem, tam erga Blesenses et [ducem Burgundiæ, necnon et][2] *comitem Flandriæ Philippum, quam erga regem Henricum, revocatione.*

Philip of France seizes possessions of his mother, his uncles, and the duke of Burgundy, A.D. 1180.

In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandrensium comitis præcipue fultus auxilio (puta cujus neptem ex sorore, filiam videlicet comitis de Henou, patre adhuc superstite et id procurante, in uxorem[3] duxerat), proprios avunculos et matrem reginam, ducem quoque Burgundiæ cognatum suum, totumque genus illud de Bleys, Flandrensibus infestum olim et exosum, armis impetiit, in primis duci Burgundiæ Alexandro,[4] consanguineo suo, castella plurima, reginæ Alæ, matri suæ, dotalitium suum totum et propter nuptias donationem, comiti Theobaldo Franciæ totius

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[1] *pia*] p̄ro, MS.

[2] *ducem . . . et*] om. MS. From the list of chapters (p. 222).

[3] Margaret, or, as she is also called, Isabella, daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault, by Margaret, sister of Philip of Flanders.

[4] *Alexandro*] The duke meant is really Hugh III.

seneschalliam aliisque munitiones et terras amplas auferendo.

Cum autem comes Philippus, seneschallia Franciæ, quam, ab uxoris parte de Viromannia oriundæ adeptam, comiti Theobaldo sub se quasi vicario jure concesserat, ad manum revocata, jam seneschallus per se, immo plus quam rex occupavit, ad cujus quippe nutum a rege cuncta fiebant, aliquamdiu fuerit; quoniam cor ante ruinam exaltari solet, comitissa Flandriæ,[1] filia scilicet Radulphi comitis de Perrona, per quam comitatui Flandriæ Viromanniam viriliter adjecerat et ditionem suam in Franciam procul extenderat, subito casu et inopinato citra hæredis solatium in fata decessit. Quod audientes avunculi regis et stirps Blesensis, idonea tam talionis et vindictæ occasione captata, ad regem accesserunt, jus suum in Viromannia eidem, exstinctis hæredibus, aperientes et, ut tantum honorem ad manus ejus de jure devolutum, Anglorum regis Henrici fultus auxilio, ab injusto detentore revocaret suoque dominico et mensæ regali potenter adjiceret, persuadentes. Rex autem, quanquam ætate puer, mente maturior et consilio, gratiaque præcipue desuper adjutus, honoris sui et emolumenti monita non respuens, Anglorum regem tanquam pro patre suscepit ejusque in hoc articulo se consiliis ex toto submisit. Unde et ad ejus nutum in primis seneschalliam iterum comiti Theobaldo, et matri suæ reginæ dotalitium suum, integre restituit. Missis igitur regiis ad comitem nuntiis, qui jus ipsius in Viromannia, mortuis hæredibus, protestantes, ut comitatum cum castellis omnibus et municipiis sibi resignaret, præciperent aut despicatas eidem, nisi hoc fecerit, inimicitias designarent, tale a comite, superbia

His dispute with Philip of Flanders as to Vermandois, A.D. 1181-4.

He submits to Henry's counsel.

The count refuses to surrender Vermandois.

f. 143.

[1] Isabella, daughter of Raoul, comte de Vermandois, seigneur de Peronne. She inherited Vermandois after the death of her brother Raoul II. in 1163, and herself died 26 Mar. 1182.

pleno et indignatione, datum est responsum, quod non solum ex parte comitissæ in ipsum[1] terra illa contigerat, sed et patri suo comiti Terrico fuerat pro maxima pecunia patri comitissæ olim mutuo concessa et in pignus data; et proinde hanc ei terram, nisi pecunia prius reddita et suppositione, cujus summam pro voluntate fecerat immensam, non relinqueret.

He vainly appeals to Henry for help;

Comes autem ex contingentibus nihil omittens, et tamen amittens, ad Anglorum regem Henricum, consobrinum suum, nuntios cum litteris suis direxit, rogans, movens et supplicans, quatinus eum in hoc negotio, tanquam sanguine tam propinquum, contra regem Franciæ juvare non postponeret; offerens ei et sacramenta et securitates omnes, necnon et obsides bonos, quod in cunctis agendis suis contra regem eundem de cætero cum ipso fideliter staret, multis in hunc modum suadens verbis, sed, quia genus illud se nunquam invicem dilexit, immo, quanto sanguine fuerint proximiores, tanto in necessitatis articulo se semper reddunt deteriores, non persuadens.

and is compelled to yield.

Convocatis igitur apud urbem Ambianensem exercitibus utrimque magnis, et rege Anglorum juniore ad Francorum regem cum grandi et valida militum manu a patre transmisso, tandem citra martios[2] conflictus, proceribus Flandriæ contra vocem[3] Francorum ob fidelitatem et ligantiam ei exhibitam congredi recusantibus, pace reformata, terribili cunctis Franciæ proceribus exemplo, comitatu Viromanniæ privatus est comes et humiliatus.

Philip, instigated by the count of Flanders, occupies Auvergne, A.D. 1187.

Anno vero sequente, postquam inter regem et comitem Flandriæ pax reformata fuerat infirmata,[4] toto[5] jam Francorum regno præter terras Anglorum regis

[1] *in ipsum*] ipsum in, MS.; ipsi jus in, Bouquet and Brewer.

[2] *martios*] martio, MS.

[3] *vocem*] so MS.; regem, Bouquet and Brewer.

[4] *infirmata*] so MS.; et confirmata, Bouquet and Brewer.

[5] *toto*] tot, MS.

ad libitum regis Franciæ complanato et fortunate redacto, suggestione Philippi comitis Flandriæ, vindicis animi veneno infecti, Francorum rex in Henricum Anglorum regem arma sumere et Alverniam viriliter vindicare decrevit. Præceperat enim pater filio, in ultimo constitutus articulo, quatinus jura coronæ regiæ totis viribus[1] revocaret, et in primis ut Alverniam, de qua major et manifestior injuria fuerat, sicut benedictionem suam habere volebat, mensæ regali reintegraret. Convocatis igitur utrimque viribus immensis et in partibus Alverniæ consertis,—hinc paucioribus sed potioribus, armatis quippe melius et exercitatis, illinc multitudine quidem multa sed incomposita, nec ad congrediendum ex corde devota—quotidie terras Alverniæ aut[2] non rebellantes sibi occupavit, aut resistere nitentes in ipso partis[3] adversæ conspectu cædibus exterminavit. Rex autem Henricus[4] ad solitas versutias se convertens barones Franciæ, comitemque Flandriæ præcipue, multis more consueto tam præ- f. 143 *b.* missis quam promissis, ad consensum sollicitando non profecit; comes enim Philippus, injuriæ non immemor alta mente repositæ, qualiter rex Franciæ comitatum Viromanniæ per ipsum sibi paulo ante subtraxerat (quanquam tamen eum mutuo super auxilio sibi invicem contra juveniles ejusdem impetus communiter viribus utrisque, sicut facillime poterant, conservando multoties ante inaniter omnino sollicitasset), acriter eidem improperavit. Barones autem, alii propter fidem regi et regno servandam, alii vero propter metum, ne ad regis forte notitiam id perveniret, qui longe patre, quem sic toties fallere consueverant, gravior erat et asperior, penitus oblata respuerunt. Cum igitur exercitus Anglorum regis apud Castellum Radulfi, Francorum vero apud Issoudum, quod occu-

Henry tries in vain to seduce the count

and the French barons.

[1] *viribus*] visibus, MS.
[2] *aut*] ut, MS.
[3] *partis*] partes, MS.
[4] *autem Henricus*] ante Henricum, MS.

Henry proposes terms of peace, to the detriment of Richard, his heir.

paverant, jam existerent, rex Henricus, ad solitas decipulas [1] se convertens, litteris et nuntiis suasit ac monuit, quatinus pax inter ipsos sub hoc tenore firmaretur: quod sororem regis Franciæ, quæ penes Anglorum regem dudum exstiterat, filio suo juniori, Johanni scilicet, cum comitatibus Pictaviæ et Andegaviæ nuptui darent, necnon et terris omnibus quas de Francorum regno possidebat, præter Normanniam solam, quæ penes hæredem una cum Anglorum regno remaneret. Hæc enim erat hominis hujus natura, quod semper invidebat successori. Hæc autem Philippi regis soror et Lodovici filia custodiæ [2] regis Anglorum, Ricardo filio ipsius comiti Pictaviæ matrimonio copulanda, a patre piisimo bona fide commissa fuerat; quam tamen [3] comes, propter infamiam postmodum exortam et ob nimiam familiaritatem cum patre suo contractam, sibi copulare modis omnibus recusavit. Dicebatur etenim, et murmur populi fuerat, quia de veritate non alleviabitur hic quippiam, quod post mortem Rosomaundæ puellæ, quam rex adulterinis amplexibus nimis adamaverat, et virginem istam, domini sui filiam et fidei suæ ab eodem fiducialiter commissam, nimis impudice nimisque infideliter dehonestaverit. Proposuit enim, ut fertur, post magnum illud et execrabile [4] inter ipsum et filios matremque ipsorum reginam odium exortum, quia semper ad illicitas enitebatur machinationes, ab Alienora regina (propter quod et Huguucionem cardinalem legatum in Angliam de curia Romana transmitti procuravit) divortio separari et huic matrimonio copulari; eo quidem animo, ut per hæredes ex ipsa susceptos, utrisque tam suis quam Francorum viribus, priores ex Alienora filios, qui ipsum infestaverant, efficacius exhæredare prævaleret. Rex autem Philippus, litteris auditis, statim eas, spreto nuntio, comiti Pictaviæ

[Is said to have debauched Philip's sister, betrothed to Richard.]

f. 144.

Philip informs Richard.

[1] *decipulas*] discipulas, MS.
[2] *custodiæ*] custodia, MS.
[3] *quam tamen*] quantum, MS.
[4] *execrabile*] exorabile, MS.

Ricardo, qui in exercitu patris existens eatenus eidem, sicut decebat, fideliter adhæserat, destinavit. Quibus auditis, tanta comes motus est indignatione, tantumque res illa odii fomitem ministravit, quod ex illa patrem hora, tanquam exhæredationem suam propter minorem natu filium machinari volentem, suspectum semper habuit et exosum.

Contigit autem his diebus apud Castellum Radulphi brachium pueri Jesu in matris gremio, sicut depingi vel exsculpi solet, residentis jactu blasphemi cujusdam percussum ac fractum, vidente utroque exercitu et admirante, aliquot diebus sanguinem manasse, et blasphemum illum eadem hora miserabiliter exspirasse. Cujus etiam miraculi tanti et tam manifesti occasione, cum[1] utrimque communiter ad spectaculum accurreretur, treuga per aliquot dies data est.[2] Miracle at Châteauroux.

His itaque sic gestis, procurante Pictaviensium comite Ricardo, qui jam patris ad honorem propter offensam prædictam minus intendebat quique bellicum ob hoc pro ipso, vel cum ipso, jam subire discrimen penitus abnuebat (quia "omne regnum in se divisum "desolabitur," et quia nihil minus decet quam "sub-"dola calliditas animos ad magna conantes"), treuga inter reges annua[3] eo demum fuerat tenore firmata, quod Alvernia, quam occupaverat, tota Francorum interim regi quieta remansit. A year's truce is made, Philip retaining 23 June.

[1] *cum*] et, MS.

[2] *est*] sunt, MS.

[3] *annua*] For two years according to Benedict (ii. p. 7) and Hoveden (ii. p. 317).

Cap. III.

De terra interim Jerosolimitana a Parthis et Paganis graviter impugnata et fere jam totaliter expugnata.

The Holy Land invaded by Saladin, A.D. 1187.

Volvitur interea Fortunæ rota, et in Palestinis[1] Jerosolimæ partibus malleus ille fidelium prænominatus, videns quia, vacuo patriarcha reverso, nihil prorsus auxilii post tantam et tam terribilem Anglorum regis exspectationem spes fraudata consequeretur, vindicis animi vitio succensus[2] ad talionem, congestis in brevi viribus immensis et armatorum cuneis undique consertis, superbia plenus et successibus, terram sacram circa kalendas Augusti fremebundus aggreditur; ubi et in publico belli certamine, occulto Dei judicio sed nunquam injusto, nostrorum paucitatem, peccatis urgentibus discordem ab invicem et diffidentem, unanimis barbarorum multitudo conclusit et confecit. Filius quippe perditionis ille et delinquentium enormiter in terra sacra populorum desuper ultor datus biennali spatio non cessaverat præmiis, precibus et promissis fere nationum principes universos et bellatores, quoscunque per Asiam[3] seu Africæ totius am-
f. 144 b. plitudinem noverat, vel quorum etiam famam audierat, convocare. Sed ante[4] quidem assumptam patriarchæ legationem, propter domesticas et intestinas nostrorum discordias, opportunitate captata ad expugnandum, post autem longe abundantius totis viribus[5] ad resistendum et rebellandum, post vacuum vero patriarchæ recursum jam longe fiducia majore se cunctis iterum[6] viribus acriter et audaciter convertit ad expugnandum et ulciscendum. Audita nimirum in primis patriarchæ

[1] *Palestinis*] so MS.; Palestinæ ac, Bouquet.
[2] *succensus*] successus, MS.
[3] *Asiam*] aliam, MS.
[4] *ante*] autem, MS.
[5] *viribus*] visibus, MS.
[6] *iterum*] MS.; interim, ed. Brewer.

ad occiduas partes legatione, totius tam populi quam cleri consilio pariter et desiderio provisa, ut erat vir providus et prudens in gente sua, tanta reformidans Christianitatis auxilia et præcipue Anglorum regis adventum, quem adeo formidabilem gentibus olim falso fama confinxerat, tam imminens sibi servisque periculum caute ad præsens declinare disponens, plurium [1] annorum treugas cum [2] stabilitate firmandas, priusquam patriarcha iter arripuit, nuntiis variis [petiit], sed obtinere non potuit. Fuit quippe tanta supervenientium canum multitudo, quæ nec numero claudi nec ratione humana poterit æstimari. Proinde tantæ multitudini et tam infinitæ tantilla nostrorum paucitas resistere non prævaluit; præsertim cum offensus fuerit Dominus populo suo, in cujus fide et virtute unus quandoque [3] persequebatur mille, et duo fugabant decem millia, etc.

The Christians overpowered by numbers.

Cf. Deut. xxxii. 30.

Ideoque in illa lamentabili strage et inconsolabili plaga, quam in terra promissionis furor Domini nuper exercuit, multi sancti et multi impii [4] miserabiliter in ore gladii corruerunt; ut in illa contritione generali grana separ[ar]entur a paleis, ut vasa ignominiæ quassarentur, atque in vasis gratiæ suam Dominus misericordiam revelaret. Nam sicut apostolus ait: "Volens "Deus ostendere iram suam et notam facere potentiam suam, sustinuit in multa patientia vasa apta "iræ in interitum, ut ostenderet divitias gloriæ suæ "in vasis misericordiæ, quæ præparavit in gloria sua, "quos et vocavit." Percussit itaque simul justum et impium, ut alterum consumeret, alterum vero consummaret. Mors enim peccatorum pessima; "pretiosa "autem in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus."

Rom. ix. 22, 23.

Ps. cxvi. 15.

Patet igitur ex præmissis, ut ad historiam revertamur, propter inanes Anglorum regis promissiones et

Henry to blame for these disasters.

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[1] *plurium*] plurimum, MS.
[2] *cum*] circa, MS.
[3] *quandoque*] et quandoque, MS.
[4] *impii*] imperii, MS.

graves aliorum principum, quia propter ipsum præcipue ad tanta subsidia missum fuerat, indignationes, mala prædicta contigisse. Væ igitur homini, per cujus ignaviam terra sacra perditioni[1] est data. Væ etiam illi, per cujus invidiam postmodum, frustrato fidelium conamine, non recuperata. Væ, inquam, generationi perversæ, per quam nostris diebus scandala mundo tanta venere. Porro sicut terra sacra retroacto[2] pluries
f. 145. tempore, divina permittente justitia, gentilium invasionibus est profanata, postmodum autem, divina arridente clementia, per fideles recuperata; sic et nostris utinam temporibus, qui, peccatis urgentibus, justitiam exercuit, pietate qua præeminet, et misericordiam exercebit. Summus autem pontifex per varias, immo fere cunctas, orbis Christiani partes non indebite fideles ad terræ sacræ subventionem litteris ac nuntiis invitavit. Unde et litteras, quas in Angliam tunc destinavit, hic insertas lector invenit.

Cap. IV.

Litteræ Clementis papæ ad [sub]ventionem faciendam fidelibus [directæ].

Clement III. urges the English bishops to succour the Holy Land, 10 Feb., 1188.

" Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venera-" bilibus fratribus Cantuariæ archiepiscopo et suffra-" ganeis ejus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

" Quam gravis et horribilis persecutionis calamitas " in Jerosolimitanis partibus, communium peccatorum " multitudine faciente, nuper ingruerit, tum ex ipsa " atrocitate facti quod jam fama circumquaque disper-" sit, tum etiam ex litteris quæ per diversas partes " orbis super hoc fuere transmissæ, universitatem ves-" tram [censemus non] ignorare. Interest autem rei " publicæ Christianæ, ut ad subventionem illarum par-

[1] *perditioni*] perditionem, MS. | [2] *retroacto*] retracto, MS.

"tium tam majores ecclesiarum prælati, quam etiam "minores, diligenti sollicitudine partes suas fideliter "imponant; ne, si forte illi terræ opportuna non fue-"rit celeritate subventum, Ismaelis illa servilis ac "nefanda progenies, quæ jam cœpit in eisdem parti-"bus peculiarem hæreditatem Domini hostiliter demo-"liri, virium suarum interim augmentum assumat et, "in sua prævalens vanitate, contra filium liberæ, "videlicet Christianum, quod absit, calcaneum inso-"lentius erigat et eum acrius persequatur. Cum igitur "ipsius Jerosolimitanæ terræ, sicut in qua Christus "humanum genus sua morte redemit, jacturæ seu "incommoda generaliter contingant Christicolas uni-"versos, placuit nobis cum consilio fratrum vobis pri-"mum, qui in specula ecclesiæ positi estis, deinde "aliis, ad destinanda subsidia ipsi terræ nostra diri-"gere scripta. Proinde rogamus vos et exhortamur "in Domino, et per apostolica scripta mandamus, "quatinus vos ipsi ad succursum ejusdem provinciæ, "tam in personarum quam rerum missione, auxilia "competentia transmittatis, ut alii, cum vos viderint "hoc agentes, ad imitandum vos exemplo vestro "facilius provocentur; subjectos quoque vestros effi-"caciter inducatis ad hoc ipsum agendum, ut, cum "vos et illi socii fueritis passionis, debeatis esse, "quemadmodum dixit apostolus, et participes[1] conso-"lationis ac remissionis illius quæ proficiscentibus "illuc vel congrua suffragia transmittentibus prius a "prædecessore nostro bonæ memoriæ Gregorio papa "et postmodum a nobis generaliter est indulta. Vo-"lumus autem ut clericos qui vestræ jurisdictioni "subsistunt auctoritate nostra et vestra cogatis ut de "bonis quæ habent terræ illi non differant subvenire. "Constituatis quoque singuli per episcopatus vestros "clericos discretos, fideles et providos, qui subventio-

He bids them give an example by sending both men and money.

2 Cor. i. 7.

f. 145 *b*.

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[1] *participes*] particeps, MS.

"nis pecuniam studiose colligere debeant et cum con-
"silio vestro atque aliorum prudentum virorum, si[1]
"necesse fuerit, fideliter dispensare. Sane[2] quicunque
"vere pœnitens in persona propria illuc iverit, remis-
"sionem habebit omnium peccatorum. Qui vero de
"rebus suis competens subsidium direxerint ad partes
"easdem, sive pro se aliquem miserint, qui ibi pro
"Christiani populi defensione debeant immorari, arbi-
"trio vestro committimus de remissione peccatorum,
"considerata tam qualitate personæ quam subventio-
"nis quantitate, ipsis vere pœnitentibus, concedenda.
"Præterea, si qui sint inter proficiscentes illuc qui
"ad præstandas usuras sacramento teneantur astricti,
"creditores eorum canonica censura sine appellationis
"impedimento cogatis[3] ut eorum a sacramento peni-
"tus exactione desistant. Si qui vero pro solvenda
"forte tenentur et ad præsens illam solvere nequive-
"runt, volumus ut, de possessionibus ac aliis bonis
"eorum sufficienti cautione recepta, usque ad eorum
"reditum vel, si ibi decesserint, receptionem nuntii
"certi de obitu solutionis terminus prorogetur, ne
"hujusmodi occasione commodum tam necessarii hoc
"tempore itineris interim debeat retardari; ita tamen
"ut, cum redierint sive rumor certus intonuerit de
"morte ipsorum, creditori de sorte possit satisfieri
"competenter. Unde, quia, 'nisi[4] Dominus custos fue-
"'rit civitatis, frustra vigilant custodes illius,' nec
"proficit, immo deficit, humana solertia, si divino
"fuerit suffragio destituta, misericordiam Dei sedulo
"ante omnia precibus invocate et per ecclesias prædi-
"cate jugiter invocandam, ut non attendat iniquitates
"populi, sed sola miseratione sanctuarium suum et ex
"alto sanctam civitatem Jerusalem tueatur, nec eam
"nefandis manibus impiorum contaminari permittat.

Privileges to be conferred on those who serve or contribute.

Ps. cxxvii. 1.

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[1] *si*] nisi, MS.
[2] *Sane*] sana, MS.
[3] *cogatis*] cogitas, MS.
[4] *quia nisi*] quia nisi quia, MS.

"Satagite etiam ut, quoscunque[1] inter se inveneritis "discordantes, eos ad pacem bonam et animorum con-"cordiam exhortatione aut districtione canonica revo-"cetis, ut, cunctis simultatibus et odiis amputatis, "animosiores et magis concordes efficiantur ad illam "gentem superbam conterendam et de partibus illis "cum auxilio Domini penitus effugandam. Nos etiam "omnes illos qui in personis propriis eo vadunt "eorumque familias mittunt sub beati Petri et nostra "protectione, donec redierint inde, suscipimus, et omni-"um bonorum suorum grata volumus interim securitate "gaudere. Dat. Laterani, iiij. idus Februarii, ponti-"ficatus nostri anno primo."

Cap. V.

De comite Pictaviæ Ricardo primo magnatum[2] Cisalphinorum cruce signato, [nobili]que tam Cisalphinis principibus quam et universis[3] exemplo dato.

His igitur in transmarinis Jerosolymorum partibus nutu divino, tam ad ulciscendam minus ferventem orientalis ecclesiæ devotionem, quam ad exercendam et experiendam fidei fervore devotam occidentalium obedientiam, circa kalendas Augusti miserabiliter perpetratis, fama tam flebilis eventus hujus ad occiduas partes circa kalendas Novembris proximo subsequentis perveniente, statim[4] Pictavensium comes Ricardus, in auris auditu primo, urbe Turonensi ab archiepiscopo loci ejusdem ad vindicandam Christi injuriam strenua devotione crucis signaculo est insignitus. Unde et Cisalpinis prin-

Richard is the first to take the cross, Sept. 1187.

[1] *quoscunque*] quicunque, MS.
[2] *magnatum*] so in list of chapters above, p. 222; magistrorum, MS.
[3] *universis*] vml, MS.
[4] *statim . . . assumpserunt*] Repeated, in nearly the same words, from *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 29 (vol. v. p. 365).

Henry and Philip of France follow his example, Jan. 1188.

cipibus strenuo facto tam nobilis ausus exemplo donato, rex Anglorum, comitis pater, Henricus, et Philippus rex Francorum laudabili æmulatione, quanquam discordes ad invicem antea fuerint, eodem in loco et eadem hora, apud Gisortium scilicet colloquio constituto, persuadente, qui ad hoc venerat, archipræsule Tyrensi, immo gratia desuper inspirante favorem, cum multis et magnis tam cleri quam populi viris, unanimi concordia circa kalendas Februarii salutiferæ crucis signum in humeris assumpserunt. Terminum autem iter arripiendi, ad tanti aggressus præparationem animum et ad ampliorem,[1] Pascha videlicet non proximum, sed secundo subsecuturum, præfixerunt. Statuerunt et communi assensu cruce signatos terras et redditus suos per triennium spatium ab assumpto itinere stabili impignorari posse conventione. Decimas quoque rerum omnium ac possessionum eorum qui iter[2] hoc non arriperent ad peregrinantium[3] sustentationem dandas ubique decreverunt. Quibus ita patratis excommunicationis sententiam ibidem coram regibus et populo toto archiepiscopus et episcopi, qui convenerant multi, in illos dederunt qui peregrinationem istam ausu temerario præpedirent et cruce signatos, seu infra terminum prædictum se præparando, seu post iter assumptum, vel in eundo vel redeundo perturbarent, vel terras etiam ipsorum interim qualibet infestatione molestarent. Hæc autem sententia, ibidem data, postmodum a summo pontifice Lucio et ab universali ecclesia est confirmata.

Ordinance for the Saladin tithe.

The emperor Frederic takes the cross.

Sicut[4] autem ad comitis exemplum reges, sic ad regum exemplar Romanus imperator Fretherieus, necnon et ad monita venerabilis Albanensis episcopi et Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis, illo cooperante a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera, ad *Lætare Jerusalem*[5] in curia illa

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[1] *animum et ad ampliorem*] MS.; et adimpletionem, Bouquet and Brewer.

[2] *iter*] inter, MS.

[3] *peregrinantium*] peregrinacionum, MS.

[4] *Sicut . . . suscepit*] in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 28 (vol. v. p. 366).

[5] The fourth Sunday in Lent.

magna, quam Curiam [Dei][1] vocavit,[2] in nobili urbe Maguntina cum majoribus regni Teutonici ordinis utriusque viris crucem magnifice suscepit. Sic itaque per universos propemodum Europæ fines, ad principum exemplum orbe composito, adeo Salvatoris injuria singulorum animis altius insedit, ut in quolibet hominum conventu respectu signatorum paucos videris non signatos. Videbatur enim tanquam opprobrium viris[3] vindictæ istius sicut animum sic et signaculum non suscipere; qui feliciter quidem et efficaciter ipsi fuissent obsequiis, ut creditur, obligati, si tantam meruissent persequendi et perficiendi gratiam, quantam habuerant aggrediendi voluntatem. Propter principum quippe discordiam pariter et invidiam, aliorumque superbiam et arrogantiam, effectui per illos mancipari negotia tanta, sicut ex post facto claruit, peccatis urgentibus divina justitia non permisit, quoniam, ut ait Cassiodorus, "populus armatus sine Deo inermis." Porro quemadmodum tota Christianitas, ut dictum est, ad impugnandum et vindicandum, sic et universæ gentium nationes et infidelium populi ad resistendum excitantur et rebellandum, unde et tanta terræ turbatio tantaque mundi concussio a multis retro sæculis[4] non est audita.

Enthusiasm for the crusade.

f. 146 *b*.

The discord of princes the cause of its failure.

[1] *Dei*] *Exp. Hib.*; om. MS.
[2] *vocavit*] vocant, *Exp. Hib.*
[3] *viris*] uiriis, MS.
[4] *sæculis*] secundis, MS.

Cap. VI.

De astronomicis ex hac turbatione tanta deceptis, et litteris quibusdam consolatoriis a quodam directis.[1]

Predictions of astronomers falsified.

Hanc autem perturbationem tantam et mundi commotionem philosophi nostri temporis et astronomici, tam Toletani[2] similiter quoque et Apuli,[3] nec non et alii multi, per annum ante vel amplius ex planetarum cursibus et motibus arte magistra[4] providerunt et prædixerunt. Porro in hoc decepti communiter omnes exstiterant, quod terrenorum motionem terræ motum ad litteram futurum esse putabant, contentorum eventum in continens ipsum falso convertentes. Unde et urbium multarum in orientalibus præcipue plagis absorptionem prædicabant; quoniam in partibus eisdem plurimarum urbium et castrorum eversiones per hanc commotionem effectæ sunt. Sicut ex litteris cujusdam philosophi nostri temporis quibusdam familiaribus suis consolandi gratia super hoc directis, et hic insertis, palam fieri potest:—

Letter of philosopher on the subject.

"Placuit ut remedia contra procellarum toties promis-" "sarum et prævisarum intemperiem, prout a prudentioribus" "nostræ professionis accepi, vobis propalarem. In primis" "itaque sciendum est quot mala prædicentur, et quibus" "temporibus evenire declarandum. Prima vero tempesta-" "tum, ut aiunt, ultima die Augusti plurimum violenta" "clarebit. Secunda, die Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, quam" "plura morborum genera comitantur. Tertia XVI. die Sep-" "tembris, multis malorum generibus exuberans, canitur" "evenire. Quarum[5] ultima, planetis omnibus in Virgine

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[1] On the subject of these predictions, founded on conjunctions of planets in 1186, see Hoveden, under the year 1184, vol. ii. p. 290.

[2] *Toletani*] Tolerani, MS.

[3] *Apuli*] Appulli, MS.

[4] *magistra*] so MS.; magica, Brewer.

[5] *Quarum*] Qualiter, MS. Brewer reads "Quarta et ultima"; but this emendation is disproved by the sentences following.

"commorantibus, partibus septentrionalibus plusquam cæteris "est timenda. Sed nec hæc, nec præmissæ duæ, ut nescio "qui errore temere ac passim[1] limphante ducti, secreta "Minervæ detegentes, mentiuntur evenire, evenient, nec "eisdem temporibus nec adeo severiter, ut falsi præ-"dicatores prædicant, invadent, etsi multa mala per di-"versas regiones ex his oriantur. Quarta, quæ maxime "verenda est, planetis omnibus et Cauda in Libra con- f. 147. "venientibus, XII. die Octobris, duabus horis ante me-"diam noctem qua elucescit dies, inde incipiet, et duobus "diebus et dimidia durabit. Maximum autem remedium "in istis est, quod, quo majus est, quintum clima et loca "huic vicina potissime invadet, et quod hæc regio, et præ-"cipue nostra provincia, minorem quam cæteræ patietur "ruinam. In locis vero solitis fumigate; et, quod minus "pervia sunt casui per terræ motum, faciendæ sunt domus "subterraneæ ex viminibus, quarum[2] longitudo vergat ad "austrum, ut cito possit ventus elabi, in lateribus montium "ventis oppositorum, in quibus latendum est. Et electu-"ariis confortativis et fumigationibus odoriferis ex olibano, "ligno aloes, et aliis aromaticis, propter aeris corrup-"tionem utendum. Sed et in his et cæteris divinam pro-"tectionem exorandum. Et pro rato habeatis, quod ex "eadem qua hic addiscuntur arte nostra et aliorum con-"stanter promittitur liberatio. Ars ultra communem homi-"num existimationem se extollit. Nec vos moveat acerba "nimis Toletanorum[3] promissio; quoniam quæ nimis seve-"riter promittuntur mitius accedent, nec generaliter evenient "quæ publice prædicantur."

Hoc mirum etenim rationi dissonum erat, [ut,] perturbato mundi pretio ac Redemptore, necnon et universorum Plasmatore, mundus universus turbaretur et, ligno pretiosissimo, in quo salus terræ facta est, tam irreverenter amoto, terræ superficies moveretur?

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[1] *passim*] passi, MS.
[2] *quarum*] quam, MS.
[3] *nimis Toletanorum*] minis toleranorum, MS.

Cap. VII.

De comite Ricardo iter aggressuro, sed per patris malitiam impedito, et ob hoc ad guerram animose converso.

Richard is hindered by his father from setting out for the Holy Land.

His igitur ita completis, inclytus ille Pictavensium comes Ricardus, qui non petere exemplum sed dare dignus erat, sicut primus exstiterat in obligatione, sic primus, immo præcipuus, esse proponens in aggressione, ad patrem humilis duo petiturus tanto aggressui necessaria, sed non impetraturus, accessit. Petiit enim quod vel ipse pecuniam ei super comitatum Pictavensem usque ad terminum peregrinis indultum mutuam daret; vel alii cuivis, fideli tamen et patri et sibi, tutisque manibus et securis, impignorari posse concederet, et quod id quoque carta sua confirmaret. Et quoniam tam longinquum iter et periculosum arripere debuit, ne quid absentia sua tam longa in præjudicium ipsius malitiose machinari possit, fidelitates procerum regni Anglicani, necnon et terrarum transmarinarum ipsum jure hæreditario contingentium fidelitates, salva in omnibus fidelitate patri prius et exhibita et debita, suscipiendas indulgeret. In quorum utroque rex, ipsum audiens quidem sed non exaudiens, conceptam animo nequitiam responso tali
f. 147 b. palliavit: "Simul, o fili carissime, simul et non separatim ituri sumus et tantum iter aggressuri, ubi "non solum pecunia, sed et omnia viæ necessaria, "nobis, ut decet, erunt communia. Nec tibi quicquam deesse poterit quod mihi superesse videatur, "quia nil nisi mors sola, quæ parcere non novit, nos "ab invicem separabit." Invidit enim etiam et filio pater prima tanti aggressus conamina primitiasque laboris egregii viæque gloriam percelebrem victoriamque, si forte acciderit, tam insignem; cum tamen, si felix utique, si fortunatus fuisset (quia gloria patris,

ut ait Salomon, est filius sapiens), si quid gloriæ, si quid prosperi eventus in hac via filio fortunæ favor adjecerit, quasi suam ipsius gloriam reputare debuisset.

Comes autem invidiam ejus atque malitiam satis advertens, cum aliud elicere responsum non potuisset, a patre filius, corpore simul et corde, discessit. Pictaviam itaque regressum cum ipsum tanto apparatui necessaria modis omnibus maturare, nuntiisque ad regem [1] Siculum, sororium suum, propter navigium properandum jam præmissis, iter in æstate proxima incunctanter arripere velle rex audisset, ad dolos exquisitos nec non insolitos se convertens, conceptumque livorem dissimulare non prævalens, præmissa pecunia grandi majorique promissa, quanquam tamen quasi in occulto, præpotentes Pictaviæ proceres et Gasconiæ, necnon et comitem Sancti Egidii Raimundum,[2] ad infestandum undique filium excitavit; ut vel sic ipsum a Christi obsequiis, quæ tam votive maturanda susceperat, revocaret, immemor penitus, vel contemptor potius, excommunicationis sententiæ tam solemniter et generaliter, ubi et ipse præsens fuerat, datæ in illos qui ad Christi obsequia vocatos et signatos qualibet infestatione molestarent.

Henry at length sends him money, but secretly intrigues against him.

Comes autem, his auditis, ut erat armis strenuus et animosus, collectis viribus ad proximos primum, Pictavenses scilicet sibi rebelles, viriliter se convertit, majores ipsorum et magistros infra castellum cui nomen Tailleburc concludens et obsidione cingens. Eosdem infra paucos dies ad deditionem pariter et crucis susceptionem, quia non aliam voluit redemptionem, cum tamen plures quam LX. de potioribus fuissent et electis, coarctavit. Porro, pacificata tam subito Pictavia et castello de Tailleburc, ante tempus hujus inexpugnabili, nunc jam tertio ab ipso præcipitato, statim

Richard takes Taillebourg, and invades the county of Toulouse, [April ?] 1188.

[1] *ad regem*] ad se regem, MS.

[2] Raimond V., count of Toulouse and St. Gilles.

Gasconiæ fines cum manu valida impiger et importunus aggreditur, ubi reformatis in brevi quæ destructa videbantur et deformata,[1] continuo Tholosæ fines potenter[2] invadit, captisque munitionibus multis, quibusdam dimissis aliisque receptis, cum nobilem f. 148. [urbem] Tholosanam, a qua non longe jam aberat, quam et sibi jure materno vindicabat, aggredi jam parasset, nuntios Francorum regis, ad supplicationem comitis Sancti Egidii directos, suscepit, quatinus a cœpto desisteret jusque suum in curia Franciæ et injuriarum ultionem juste susciperet, ex parte regis nuntiantes. Missi sunt etiam nuntii ab eodem Francorum rege seneschallis Normanniæ et Andegaviæ, quibus mandavit quod vel comitem quantocius revocarent, vel de treugis inter ipsum et Anglorum regem firmatis de cætero[3] non confiderent. Comes autem, fortunam, ut assolet, urgens et successibus instans, nec ad mandata Francorum regis et crebras comminationes, nec ad seneschallorum supplicationes, nec ad patris etiam, cui jam in Anglia nuntiatum id fuerat, admonitiones, a nobili potuit ausu revocari. Sicut enim animosus erat et audax ad aggrediendum, sic pertinax quoque et perseverans ad perficiendum; unde et titulum ipsius, quem *Hibernica Topographia* nostra depingit, et hic inserere dignum duxi.

Philip orders him to desist, but he refuses.

Cap. VIII.

De titulis Ricardi comitis Pictaviæ occasionaliter hic intersertis.[4]

Character of Richard, count of Poitou.

Sequens vero, quia de primævo præmissum fuerat, cujus digna laudum præconia vox præconis non silebit,[5] pro-

[1] *deformata*] reformata, MS.
[2] *potenter*] potentes, MS.
[3] *de cætero*] et de cetero, MS.
[4] *intersertis*] interfectis, MS. This chapter down to "recolit "antiquitas" in *Top. Hib.*, iii. 50–51 (vol. v. p. 195).
[5] *silebit*] *Top. Hib.*; solebit, MS.

vida patris dispositione, paternæ nomen renuens, maternæ stirpis honorem statim adeptus, terram hactenus indomitam in tenera ætate tanta virtute rexit et domuit, ut non tantum ipsam per omnes ejus anfractus longe plenius et tranquillius solito pacificaret, verum etiam mutilata dudum et dispersa redintegrans strenua virtute pristinos in status singula revocaret.

In formam igitur informia redigens, in normam enormia quæque reducens, fortia confundens et aspera complanans, antiquos Aquitanniæ terminos et jura reformavit.

Fortunam siquidem urgens et se in anteriora protendens tempora, sibi contemperans et semper successibus instans, Cæsarque secundus,

"Nil credens actum, cum quid superesset agendum," Lucan, Phars. ii. 657.

rebusque in bellicis furibundus in arma, nec ullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias; cujus quoque nec prærupta montium latera, nec aereæ turres, arte situque hactenus inexpugnabiles, tam artificiosos quam virtuosos, nunc arduos et sublimes, nunc subitaneos[1] animosi pectoris impetus prævalent impedire.

Sed quoniam semper

"Mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub ipso, Ov., Rem. Am. 323.
"Pro vitio virtus crimina sæpe tulit,"

pacis et justitiæ zelo defervens, ut in primis gentis indomitæ reprimeret audaciam tutamque inter nocentes redderet innocentiam, in male meritos juris rigore desæviens, unde non indigne laudem a dignis promereri debuerat, lividorum latratibus cœpit in commune crudelitate notari. Quam quidem et ob hoc constat sine causa notam incurri,[2] quod, residentibus paulisper causis, mansuetudinem induens et clementiam, citra rigidum longeque trans remissum, ad aureum illud medium accedens, paulatim rigor ille resedit. f. 148 *b*.

Præterea, qui contulit naturam, contulit et naturæ passionem. Ad reprimendos namque ferocissimos animi ipsius motus hic leo noster, plusquam leo, quartanæ stimulo leonino more vexatur, quo sic continue fere tremit nec trepidat, ut et sui tremore mundum universum tremere faciat et timere.

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[1] *subitaneos*] subterraneos, *Top. Hib.*

[2] *incurri*] so in MS.; incurrisse, ed. Brewer (see note, *Top. Hib.*, p. 196).

Character of Richard.

Nota.

Inter varias igitur quibus præeminet virtutes, peculiari quadam prærogativa, trina hunc insignia incomparabiliter reddunt illustrem: strenuitas et animositas eximia; largitas et dapsilitas immensa; super,[1] laudabilis in principe cæterasque adornans virtutes, tam animi quam verbi firma constantia. Et ut brevi eloquio laudis ad cumulum concludam,[2] egregio fratri sola est ætate et non virtute secundus.

Compared with his brother Henry.

Diversis igitur tam moribus quam studiis eodem ex germine eademque[3] radice duo cum fuerint, perpetuæ tamen laudis gloriam æternitatisque memoriam uterque promeruit. Ambo staturæ grandis, pauloque plusquam mediocris, et formæ dignæ imperio. Strenuitas illis et animi magnitudo fere par, sed via virtutis valde[4] dispar. Ille lenitate laudabilis et liberalitate, iste severitate spectabilis et stabilitate; ille suavitate commendabilis, hic gravitate; illi facilitas, huic constantia laudem peperit; ille misericordia conspicuus, iste justitia; ille miserorum et male meritorum refugium, iste supplicium; ille malorum clipeus, iste malleus; Martiis ille ludis addictus, hic seriis; ille extraneis, iste suis; ille omnibus, iste bonis; ille magnanimitate mundum ambiebat, iste sibi de jure competentia non inefficaciter appetebat. Sed quid per singula curro? Tantos ab uno principe duos et tam diversissimos nec præsens ætas nec ulla recolit antiquitas.

His exploits in the East.

Sunt[5] etiam hic addenda prioribus ea quæ ex post factis adjicienda cognovimus. Quanto strenuitatis indicio, Angliæ coronam adeptus, in peregrinatione postmodum Jerosolymitana Messanæ muros irrupit et, intus existente Francorum rege Philippo, sed nil tale meditante vel suspicante, eandem nihilominus viriliter intrando debellavit. Insulam Cypricam, piratis asylum hactenus et paganis, felici navigio subjugavit, et tyrannum, qui imperatoris quoque nomen sibi usurpaverat,

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[1] *super*] superlaudabilis, *Top. Hib.*

[2] *concludam*] multa concludam, *Top. Hib.*

[3] *ex germine eadem-*] *Top. Hib.*; om. MS.

[4] *valde*] *Top. Hib.*; virtute, MS.

[5] The rest of the chapter is not in *Top. Hib.* It is included, however, with the exception of a few sentences, in the *Symbolum Electorum*, extracted probably from this work. See vol. v. p. 197, note.

captivum abduxit. Dromundum Saladini, ad Aconem muniendum armis et victualibus refertum, obiter[1] offendendo per galeas audacter expugnare rostrisque ferratis subtus penetrare, donec mari[2] absorptum videret, non cessavit. Demum Aconem veniens, murosque statim cum Francorum quoque rege Philippo in se viriliter habente suffodiens et dejiciens urbem potenter expugnavit, et tria Turcorum millia in ore gladii decollavit. Catervam Babilonicam, ad munitionem Jerosolymæ de Ægypto transmissam, non procul a Darone[3] confecit; et multis Turcorum millibus qui eam deduxerant manu modica sed electa in fugam conversis, tria camelorum millia gazis Ægyptiis onerata reduxit. Et quod omnium majus erat et animosius, urbem Jopen a Turcis iterum occupatam, armis quoque et viribus refertam, navigio exiguo nimis et exili recuperavit, et tam modicis viribus (quoniam "audentes Fortuna juvat") tot Turcorum millia, collatis signis et erectis, temerario potius ausu quam provido, cruentam in fugam dimicando convertit et confecit. f. 119.

Quæ quidem omnia si[4] humiliter animoque puro ac simplici et intentione mera, superbia videlicet et invidia procul expulsis, ad Deum omnia referens agere curasset Dominoque dedisset gloriam, quoties aliquid fecerat gloriosum, cuncta per ipsum, ut creditur, laudabili fine completa fuissent. Quoniam, ut ait Petrus in epistola prima: "Si quis ministrat, tanquam ex "virtute quam administrat Deus, ut in omnibus "honorificetur Deus." Super quem locum Augustinus: "Cum omnia bene et secundum Dei voluntatem "feceritis, non vestris meritis sed gratiæ ipsius tri-

Deficiencies in his character.

1 Pet. iv. 11.

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[1] *obiter*] obitum, MS.

[2] *mari*] mare, MS.

[3] *Darone*] Barone, MS. The castle of Darum (now Deir el Belah) on the southern border of Palestine is meant.

[4] *si*] se, MS.

"buatis, ut alii, videntes opera vestra bona, glorificent "Patrem qui in cœlo est."

Sed quia

Hor., Sat. I. iii. 68.

"Vitiis nemo sine[1] nascitur, optimus ille est
"Qui minimis urgetur";

Hor., Carm. II. xvi. 27.

et quoniam nemo sine crimine vivit, et "nihil omni "parte beatum," "nihilque," ut ait Tullius, "simplici[2] "in genere omni ex parte perfectum natura expoli-"vit,"[3] inter universos nostri temporis principes strenuissimum hunc confidentissime dixerim, si, præter alias quibus præeminet virtutes et varias quibus emicat tam naturæ quam industriæ dotes, tribus ipsum virtutibus, quas subtacendas potius quam exprimendas, ne contraria juxta se posita magis appareant, nunc censuimus, præditum esse datum fuisset,[4] &c. Sed hæc hactenus: de cætero ad historiam revertamur.

Cap. IX.

De rege Henrico interim in Anglia rapinis avidis et decimarum[5] exactionibus intento, et visionibus quampluribus, commonitoriis[6] et comminatoriis, frustra sibi propalatis.

Henry acts as "a dog "in the "manger" in the matter of the crusade.

Rex autem Henricus, qui decimarum interim exactionibus, forestarum in Anglia causis, variisque rapinis ad exaggerandum pecuniam modis omnibus operam dederat, audito rerum istarum eventu comitemque a cœpto nullatenus posse revocari, gravissimam etiam

f. 149 b.

Francorum regis, si non ocius revocetur, indignationem pariter et despicationem, visoque et animadverso totam

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[1] *Vitiis nemo sine*] sine vitiis nemo, MS.

[2] *simplici*] simplicius, MS. The reference is to *De Invent. Rhetor.*, ii. 3.

[3] *expolivit*] expolluit, MS.

[4] *fuisset*] fuisse, MS.

[5] *decimarum*] decimatum, MS.

[6] *commonit oriis*] communiatoriis, MS.

in filio machinationem suam, sicut semper consueverat, et excommunicationis sententiam per ipsum tam sollemniter datam in caput proprium reversuram, anxius et dolens versus mare Normannicum transfretat[ur]us accessit. Multos autem in Anglia et fere majores cunctos, nec solum amicos et domesticos verum etiam inimicissimos, eosque præcipue quos magis exosos habebat et suspectos, illos quidem blanditiis alliciens et promissis, istos vero comminationibus urgens et potestate, crucem suscipere fecit. Unde et coram magnis quibusdam viris, sed familiaribus tamen, quandoque verba hujuscemodi ex abundantia cordis emisit: "Nonne Francorum," inquit, "regem caute satis circumveniendo decepi, quem tanto labori et tam periculoso ex industria ut obligaretur induxi, cum tamen in mea [potestate est][1] vel iter arripere vel supersedere?" Unde et non nisi in dolo crucem creditur suscepisse, cum vellet a curia Romana pecuniæ interventu, sicut in multis illicitis crebro consueverat, absolutionis facile impetrare posse dispensationem. Proinde vehementius admirandum quoniam, tanquam cani comparandus in fœnili, nec ipse hoc aggredi animo habebat, et tamen alii cuilibet, etiam filio, id ipsum[2] aggredi non mediocriter invidebat.

Apud Geldefordiam igitur, versus mare deproperans cum rex pernoctasset, capellanum quendam de curia, cui nomen Gualterus, agnomine Daumartin, Dominus eadem nocte tali visione visitavit. Videbatur enim ei quod[3] archiepiscopum quendam, quasi ad altaris sacramenta stantem, videret insignitum, flammeum manu dextera gladium tenentem, tanquam alteram Paradisi romphæam, aditum januæ cœlestis nisi petentibus[4] et conversis abnegantem. In quem dum diligentius in- Vision of Walter Daumartin [June, 1188].

[1] *in mea potestate est*] in mea, MS., over an erasure.
[2] *id ipsum*] ad ipsum, MS.
[3] *quod*] quoddam, MS.
[4] *petentibus*] so MS.; but Bouquet and Brewer are probably right in reading "pœnitentibus."

tenderet, videbatur ei quod Thomas olim Cantuariensis existeret, qui protinus, oculos in ipsum acriter contorquendo gladiumque vibrando, sacrum os in hæc verba Latina resolvit: "Vide, gladius iste recens est "nunc fabricatus, nondum refrixit. Gladius iste trans- "verberabit dominum tuum regem, juxta illud Psal- "mistæ, 'Nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit; "'arcum suum tetendit et paravit illum.'" Eoque dicto et persona terribilis evanuit et presbiter præ timore a somno experrectus exsiliit, statimque ad ecclesiam, quoniam in aurora illud acciderat, accelerando missam de Sancto Spiritu pro rege celebravit. Et sic ad capellam accedens post missam, priusquam rex exiret, visionem ei secreto revelavit. Qua audita, ter versus altare genibus flexis, quasi per intervalla trium Dominicarum orationum, dextra demum manu frontem faciemque consignans, ad cameras inde consiliaque transivit. Die vero procedente, hora quasi inter primam et tertiam, vocatus est ad regem presbiter, qui in capella inter clericos curiæ, quorum et ipse unus exstiterat, residebat; ad quem cum in diversorium quoddam parte domus penitiori adductus fuisset, ostium intranti rex, in angulo quodam solus residens, capitis in ipsum concussione,[1] nomen ejusdem ingeminans, inquit, "Galtere, Galtere, gladius tuus crudeliter secare "jam suscepit, quia Castellum Radulphi jam nunc "amisimus." Nuntiatum etenim ei de transmarinis eadem hora fuerat, Francorum regem castellum illud, cum adjacente provincia tota, per custodum ipsorum proditionem occupasse. Cui cum presbiter consolationis verba referre parasset, protinus a thalamis ad aulam rex exivit.

[Margin: Ps. vii. 12.]
[Margin: He tells it to the king.]
[Margin: f. 150.]
[Margin: who informs him of the loss of Chateauroux.]

[Margin: Another vision.]

Circa hæc eadem tempora vir quidam bonus et litteratus[2] hanc in somnis vocem audivit, "Vide, lege

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[1] *concussione*] confusione, MS.

[2] An abbot, in Benedict (vol. ii. p. 55); a Cistercian monk, in Hoveden (vol. ii. p. 356).

"hoc de rege." Et deorsum intuens vidit hoc scriptum in terra, "Signum meum levavit super se,[1] et tor-"mentum portabit in tormento ; venter enim uxoris "ejus intumescet contra eum"; et paulo post, "Vela-"bitur cum velatis." Finis autem visionis hujus finem regis ærumnosum et sepulturæ locum designavit, sicut in sequentibus palam erit. Nota.

Cap. X.

De comite Pictavensi Ricardo a patre dissociato [et ad] regem Franciæ converso.

Warning to Henry from Margaret de Bohun, at Portsmouth [July, 1188].

Cum autem ad portum inde, qui "Portus os" vel "ora" dicitur, pervenisset, matrona quædam nobilis, cui nomen Margareta de Bohun, a longinquis regni finibus ad ipsum veniens, post cætera multa tandem eum[2] in hæc verba convenit, "Domine mi, nunquam de "statu vestro tantum [quantum] nunc timorem con-"cepi. In retroactis etenim cunctis, quæcunque vobis "adversitas acciderat, semper eventus vestros populi "benedictio secundavit; nunc autem, quod dolens dico, "in contrarium cedit." Et cum decimarum exactionem in causa fuisse, super hoc inquirens, rex audisset, ira motus et indignatione respondit, "Sine causa po-"pulus iste nequam maledicit. De cætero vero non "sine causa, si vixero et redire valuero, me maledicet." Dominus autem, qui non solum verba verum etiam scrutatur et corda, quoniam

"Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos," Ov., i. Amor. x. 48.

per inopinatam paulo post interemptionem, et enormem indicavit exactionem et acerbam evacuavit comminationem.

He crosses to Normandy.

Mari itaque Gallico, Circio demum flante, transnavigato, Normanniam transcurrens et Cenomanniam, versus Castellum Radulphi cum exercitu grandi depro-

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[1] *se*] eum, Bened., Hoveden. | [2] *eum*] cum, MS.

peravit; ubi et filius ejusdem, comes Pictavensis, a Tholosæ partibus jam reversus, se infra modicum tempus valida cum manu patri adjunxit. Cum igitur erga Francorum regem, qui ad castellum prædictum non privatus accesserat, multa per internuntios more solito rex Anglorum vano labore prætemptasset, tan-
f. 150 b. dem cum ad colloquium die statuto convenissent,[1] post multas altercationes pacem et concordiam non redolentes, tandem Pictavensium comes, quoniam fidelitates procerum sicut nec sic[2] neque nunc vel a patre poterat supplicationibus impetrare, suspectum[3] habens ob hoc ipsum et ejus malitiam, quæ, semper invidens successori, hæredibus injuriose præferre natu minores nitebatur, ad Francorum regem coram oculis patris illico se transferens, de terris omnibus transmarinis quæ ipsum hæreditario jure contingebant ei incontinenti hominium fecit.[4] Et præter hoc etiam, cum mutuis sacramentorum vinculis ibidem confœderati fuissent, rex comiti auxilium super conquirendis contra patrem terris illis transmarinis pepigit sponsione; unde inexorabilis tunc orta est discordia et tam implacabilis mota dissensio, quæ patri usque ad extremum diem confusione plenum non cessaret.

Richard deserts to Philip, and does him homage.

Nonne igitur illud Ezechielis ad montem Seir a Deo desertum, quoniam[5] et ante Deum deseruerat, et huic non incongrue adaptari potest? "Extendam "manum meam super te, et dabo te desolatum atque "desertum. Urbes tuas demoliar, et tu desertus eris; "et scies quod ego Dominus. Eo quod fueris inimicus "sempiternus, sanguini tradam te, et sanguis te per-"sequetur; et cum sanguinem oderis, sanguis perse-"quetur te."

Ezek. xxxv. 3–6.

[1] The conference with Philip between Bonmoulins and Soligny, 18 Nov.

[2] *sic*] MS.; olim, edd. Bouquet, Brewer.

[3] *suspectum*] susceptum, MS.

[4] *fecit*] non fecit, MS.; but the negative is obviously out of place. See Benedict, ii. p. 50; Hoveden, ii. p. 355.

[5] *quoniam*] quem, MS.

Ecce qualiter obsequium crucis peccatis urgentibus evacuatur! Ecce quemadmodum signatio principum tam solemnis inanis efficitur et opprobriosa, dum tanti tamque laudabiles in orbe ad vindicandas, sicut sperabatur, Christi injurias aggressus in exitiales demum iras, inexorabiles inter se mutuo discordias, tam illaudabiliter expenduntur! Constat igitur ex præmissis regem Henricum malis his omnibus impedimentis, werram filio movendo et sententiam incurrendo in propriam, Deo vindice, perniciem, causas originales et occasiones præstitisse.

The crusade made abortive by Henry's conduct.

His ita patratis, induciis per hyemalis algoris intemperiem usque ad Pascha[1] sequens utrimque datis, Francorum tamen regi terris interim et castellis occupatis in pace manentibus, ad propria singuli sunt reversi.

A truce made until Easter 1189.

Cap. XI.

De rege Henrico per omnia confuso, et verbo tanquam[2] apostatico, quod pudor pariter et dolor extorsit, ab ipso prolato.

Rex autem Henricus, visis his quæ ad confusionis suæ maturationem de die in diem magis acciderant, ultra quam credi potest, anxie dolens, duos episcopos suos quos in colloquio secum habuerat, quorum alterum a Cartusia promoveri procuraverat, Baldevinum scilicet Cantuariæ archiepiscopum et Hugonem Lincolniæ, ad se in discessu vocari jussit. Habebat enim in consuetudine episcopos, abbates, et viros religionem habitu præferentes, monachos, Templarios, Hospitalarios, fratres de Grandi Monte, ad colloquia sua circumducere, magisque ipsorum quam militum suorum consiliis uti

Blasphemous speeches of Henry to archbishop Baldwin and Hugh of Lincoln.

f. 151.

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[1] According to Benedict and Hoveden, only until the F. of St. Hilary (13 Jan.).

[2] *tanquam*] tantum, MS. See the table of chapters (p. 223).

etiam circa martia negotia consueverat. Sciens enim quod "viro sapienti," juxta comicum illud, "omnia "priusquam arma sunt tentanda," semper et pacificam transactionem modis omnibus laborabat, et [apud] Lodovicum Francorum regem, qui et religionis venerator exstiterat et pecuniæ tamen amator, talium interventu per pecuniam frequenter, immo fere semper, proficiebat. Adversus autem filium ejusdem Philippum quia in neutro proficere poterat, sed viribus et armis solum, quibus impar longe fuerat et quibus[1] uti dediscens[2] tam pace ducem patris patientia desueverat,[3] succumbere proculdubio, peccatis etiam urgentibus, necesse fuerat et deficere. Circa extrema quoque [regni] sui tempora duorum ordinum viris prædictorum ad redimendam famam suam, quia multis ante[4] indigne contulerat, plus opinionis amore quam devotionis, sedes dare cathedrales disposuerat. Ascitis igitur et adjunctis ad latera sua duobus illis, quos creaverat, et aliquantulum a turbis, sicut moris habebat, se transferendo, ex vehementia doloris et anxietatis alienatus animo, in turpia hujusmodi et apostatica, audientibus illis, verba prorupit. "Cur ergo," inquit, "Christum "venerarer? Cur illum honorare dignarer, qui mihi "honorem in terris aufert et per garcionem quendam "(ad Francorum id regem referens) me confundi tam "ignominiose permittit?" et cætera, quibus, ne memoriæ refricatio[5] facinus atque blasphemiam posteris ad mentem revocet, supersedere potius quam paginam nostram commaculare dignum duximus. Cum igitur hæc et similia, tanquam bonorum nostrorum indigens esset Dominus, diutius ingeminasset, consolationis omnino verba respuens et confirmationis, monito calcari-

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[1] *quibus . . . desueverat*] so MS.; quibus uti dediscens etiam in pace ducem pacis patientiam deseruerat, Brewer.

[2] *dediscens*] i.e. oblivioni tradens, in margin.

[3] *desueverat*] i.e. a consuetudine cessaverat, in margin.

[4] *ante*] autem, MS.

[5] *refricatio*] refutatio, MS.

bus equo, tanquam extra se factus, ad turbas iterum ab ipsis ocius se proripuit.

O quam longe cor hominis hujus a Domino distabat, quamque dispar et dissimile sancto Job in patientia fuit; qui post tantas persecutiones et tot improperanti uxori suæ et dicenti, "Adhuc in simplicitate tua per-"sistis? Benedic Domino[1] et morere!" respondit, "Tanquam una de stultis mulieribus locuta es.[2] Si "bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala quoque "cur non sustineamus?" Et subsequenter scriptum est, "In die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum, et in "die malorum ne immemor sis bonorum. In omnibus "igitur his non peccavit Job labiis suis, nec stultum "quid contra Deum locutus est." Quin immo, post universa flagella illud tantæ fidei verbum emisit, "Etiamsi occiderit me, tamen in ipso sperabo." Unde Augustinus[3]: "Quia propter futurum sæculum, et non "præsens, Christiani sumus, ideo, quocunque modo se "habeant[4] præsentia, grati simus, vel consolationis Dei "propter[5] blanda, vel justitiæ per aspera. Bona enim "præsentia a Deo nobis donata consolatio sunt; cum "desunt, justitia est. Consolatur enim nos Deus et "emendat. In utroque igitur ei grati simus."

His impatient spirit.

Job ii. 9, 10.

Job xiii. 15.

f. 151 b.

Cap. XII.

Quare se nunc segnius[6] quam olim Normannia defendit? Quæstio facta, et responsio data.

Circa hæc eadem fere tempora, cum de variis inter reges conflictibus et infestationibus crebris sermone conserto mentio forte facta fuisset, ille qui[7] scripsit

Reasons for Normandy defending itself less vigorously against the French than it formerly did.

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[1] *Domino*] Domine, MS.

[2] *es*] est, MS.

[3] Enarratio in Ps. xci. (Migne, xxxvii., 1171), but the passage is merely a paraphrase.

[4] *habeant*] habebant, MS.

[5] *propter*] ed. Brewer; pro, MS.

[6] *segnius*] seguinus, MS.

[7] *qui*] cum, MS.

hæc quæsivit a Rannulfo de Glanvillis, qui Seneschallus et Justiciarius Angliæ tunc fuerat, quo casu quove infortunio id acciderit, quod, cum duces Normanniæ, ducatu primum contra Francorum reges viribus et armis conquisito, terram eandem contra singulos reges, sicut historiæ declarant, tam egregie defenderunt, quod nonnullos eorum etiam turpiter confectos terga dare solumque fugæ præsidio salutem quærere compulerint, nunc una cum Anglorum regno terrisque transmarinis tot et tantis suæ ditioni adjectis minus potenter et insufficienter se defendere jam videantur. At ille, sapiens ut erat simul et eloquens, solita gravitate eloquentiam ornante, sub quadam morositate attentionem comparante, respondit duobus parum ante adventum Normannorum bellis, primo Pontiacensi inter Lodovicum regem, Karoli Magni filium, et Gurmundum, secundo vero longe post Kameracensi, Radulphi scilicet Kameracensis levitate pariter et animositate, adeo totam fere Franciæ juventutem exstinctam fuisse funditus et exinanitam, ut ante hæc tempora nostra numerositate minime fuisset restaurata. Adjecit iis etiam qui scripsit hæc, ipso[1] quidem assensum præbente, quod tempore ducum, priusquam reges effecti violento dominatu et insulari tyrannide Normannos, sicut et Anglos, oppresserant, libertate sublimes et validi longe ad propulsandas injurias et animosiores exstiterant et armis exercitatiores. Colla quippe nobilium tyrannorum atrocitate calcata qualiter ad resistendum liberis Francorum armis animisque ferocibus exsurgere possunt? Nihil est etenim quod adeo corda virorum ad probitatem excitet, erigat et invitet, ut libertatis hilaritas; nihil adeo deprimit et deterret, ut servitutis oppressio. Facit ad hoc quod etiam, exquisito huic infortunio, tam in patrem filii, quam in se invicem fratres, contra naturæ fœdus tam frequenter insurgunt. Quia scriptum est, "Omne regnum in se

Opinion of R. de Glanville,

and of the author.

f. 152.

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[1] *ipso*] ipse, MS.

"divisum desolabitur"; et alibi, "Concordia magnæ "res crescunt, discordia vero maximæ dilabuntur." Inde vero e diverso, magno quodam fortunæ favore, piissimi patris felicitas cunctos fere filii fortunavit eventus. Hoc quidem et hic notabile censui, quod Palladis et Minervæ studia, Musæ videlicet et militiæ castra, tanquam junctis dextris firmatisque fœderibus, sese semper concomitari solent. Sicut in Græcia Macedonis Alexandri temporibus et Achillis, Romæ vero Cæsarum tempore, nunc autem his nostris diebus, et a tempore Pippini Karolorumque ac deinceps, studium in Francorum regno floret utrumque.

Cap. XIII.

De rege Henrico apostematis incommodo circiter inguina correpto, et confessione[1] *demum facta, magis extorta tamen quam devota.*

Elapsa igitur hyeme, Martio sequente rex Anglorum apostemate, quod ei circa pudenda ex acutis humoribus intumuerat et jam in fistulam conversum fuerat, Cenomannis graviter afflictus accubuit. Habebat autem secum curiæque suæ sequaces tunc temporis assidue, præter episcopos et abbates plurimos, archiepiscopos tres, Baldevinum videlicet Cantuariensem, Galterum Rothomagensem, Guillelmum Turonensem. Erat enim hominis illius consuetudo majores[2] terrarum suarum viros, tam de clero quam etiam populo, ut curia sua semper legatis extraneis grandis appareret, ex industria circumducere. Tres itaque præscripti cum aliis nonnullis, invalescente jam fere ad desperationem ægritudine, ad ipsum tanquam ex condicto[3] confluxerunt, rogantes et in fide consulentes, quatinus confitendo pariter et pœnitentiam agendo ad delictorum remis-

Henry lies ill at Le Mans, March, A.D. 1189.

[1] *confessione*] confessionem, MS.
[2] *majores*] maioris, MS.
[3] *condicto*] conducto, MS.

sionem elaboraret vitamque suam vel in extremo, qui tunc imminere credebatur, articulo sacrisque diebus Quadragesimalibus emundaret. His igitur ei, quod pluries, frustra tamen et inani labore commonitis, cum licentia sumpta communiter a curia recedere jam parassent, dicentes ad invicem se malle longe deviare regem in eorum absentia, quam ipsis præsentibus et animæ suæ languori non medentibus exorbitare, demum invitus et compulsus ad id faciendum eorumque consiliis adquiescendum, diem sed et tertio diem, quo denique, quoniam ulterius differre et proterminare non potuit, confessus quidem est, sed nec omnia quorum conscius exstiterat, nec majora. Quædam etiam suppressit et subticuit; quin immo quædam[1] quærentibus illis abnegavit, quæ tamen quibusdam eorundem ante quidem confessus fuerat. Et ea quæ audientibus illis tunc confitebatur, non accusando excessuum enormitates, non delicta lugendo, sed excusando potius et rationem facti assignando ad excusandas, excusationes proponebat, adeo quidem ut, altercando[2] in singulis f. 152 b. et disputando, simulatoriam magis quam veram, et sophisticam magis quam devotam, sic expleret confessionem. Cum autem voluntas Domini fuerit ut, ab illo convalescens valetudinis incommodo, ad majores paulo post ærumnas terribili cunctis terrarum regibus exemplo reservaretur, inter Pascha et Pentecosten, mensibus videlicet Aprili et Maio, ad colloquia in Marchiæ finibus inter regem et comitem Pictavensem non profecturo labore (quoniam et curiæ sequela tunc fueram) pluries profecti fuimus. Sicut enim de Senacherib rege Assyriorum legitur in libro Regum, quod a strage clxxxv. millium in obsidione Jerusalem, angelo[3] percutiente, est liberatus, et propter nequitiam patricidio[4] filiorum est reservatus, haud dissimiliter contigit isti.

Is induced to confess, but only incompletely.

Recovers, and meets Richard.

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[1] *quædam*] quidam, MS.
[2] *altercando*] aliterando, MS.
[3] *angelo*] anno, MS.
[4] *patricidio*] et patricidio, MS.

Cap. XIV.

Visio nobili viro [Ricardo de] Ridiuariis ostensa, et de rege Henrico in brevi completa.

Vision of Richard de Redvers, portending Henry's death.

Accidit autem ea tempestate, temporis intemperie ex aeris inclementia multos necante, virum nobilem urbe Cenomannensi, Ricardum de Riduariis, regis consobrinum, febris illius acutæ violentia, quæ tunc temporis multis et magnis viris nimis ingruebat, desperabiliter accubuisse Ad quem [cum] vir venerabilis Cantuariorum antistes Baldewinus, in cujus quoque comitatu tunc eram, visitandi causa venisset, in penitiori thalamo positus æger, vel experrectus a somno, vel potius ab exstasi in quam morbi vehementia Deique patientia raptus fuerat demum revocatus, in[1] hujusmodi subito verba prorupit. "Ubi sunt," inquit, "homines mei? Pergat aliquis actutum, et dicat domino regi quatinus sibi[2] sine cunctatione provideat "domuique suæ, libero quod non redit arbitrio errata "corrigendo, caute disponat. Ego enim hinc recedo; "et ipse proculdubio infra duos menses et dimidium "me sequetur." Cum autem sui hæc audientes vehementer obstupescerent, putantes tamen erronea, cujusmodi verba plerumque illa solet infirmitas emittere, medico cuidam, cui nomen Willelmus cognomen Vacelinus, qui ejus tunc curam agebat eumque ut a talibus temperaret verbis acrius aliis increpabat, hæc subjunxit: "Et tu, Willelme, tibi si vis provideas, quo"niam infra xv. dies post regem et tu quoque me "sequeris." Quo dicto, Willelmus ad nos in aulam exiens archiepiscopo in aure secreto verba revelavit. Archiepiscopus autem eadem nobis[3] in via, postquam

[1] *in*] vel, MS.
[2] *sibi*] igitur, MS.
[3] *nobis*] in nobis, MS.

ægrotum visitaverat, cum admiratione cuncta narravit. Audientium vero quidam tanquam erronea et ridiculosa magis quam seria sub risu ludicro pertransierunt; nonnulli vero, rem tacite considerantes et subsequentia f. 153. cum suis eventibus[1] tempora circumspecte notantes, singula postmodum, sicut prædicta fuerant, veritate sequaci completa viderunt.

The scourges of God of five kinds.

Notandum hic itaque quod quinque modis juxta Bedam flagellantur; vel ut justis[2] merita per patientiam sibi[3] augeantur, ut Job; vel ad custodiam virtutum, ne superbia temptet, [ut] in Paulo; vel ad corrigenda peccata, ut Mariæ lepra; vel ad gloriam Dei, ut de cæco nato; vel ad initium pœnæ, ut Herodi, quatinus hic videatur quod in inferno sequatur, secundum illud: "Duplici contritione contere eos." Absit autem ut hæc ultima flagella rex prædictus experiatur. Item, Augustinus super hunc locum in epi-

1 Pet. iii. 17. stola Petri prima: "Melius est enim bene facientes, "si velit voluntas Dei, pati,[4] quam male facientes." "Quicquid justus patitur, Christum imitatur. Qui "flagellis corrigitur, latronem imitatur, qui cum ipso "in cruce cognito Paradisum intravit. Qui nec fla-"gellis corrigitur, sinistrum latronem imitatur, qui "propter peccata ascendit in crucem et post crucem "ruit in Tartara." Et paulo post: "Duo sunt judicia; "unum occultum, scilicet pœna qua nunc unusquisque "homo aut exercetur ad purgationem aut movetur "ad conversionem, aut, si contemnit vocantem, excæca-"tur[5] ad damnationem; alterum manifestum, quo "venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et nunc "tempus ut ecclesia per exercitia sæculi ad gloriam "præparetur. Reprobi vero nunc ducunt in bonis "dies suos; et in puncto ad inferna descendunt."

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[1] *eventibus*] euntibus, MS.
[2] *justis*] iustus, MS.
[3] *sibi*] ubi, MS.
[4] *pati*] parati, MS.
[5] *excæcatur*] excæcantur, MS.

Cap. XV.

De imperatore Frederico crucis negotium et votum peregrinationis assumptum viriliter interim et incunctanter aggresso.

The emperor Frederic starts on the crusade, F. of St. Gregory, 1189.

Interim autem Romanus imperator Fredericus, præparatis egregie tanto aggressui necessariis, ad festum Sancti Gregorii,[1] sicut primo statuerat, cum multis armatorum millibus iter incunctanter arripuit.[2] Sed utinam cum favore plebeio popularique plausu, cum viæ substantia juste quæsita non extorta,[3] larga liberalique manu et non contracta, pura et elimata per pœnitentiam conscientia, prorsus invidia carente et arrogantia, principes nostri in hujus expeditionis aggressu proficisci meruissent. O quam mallem his comitatos, cum paucioribus Deoque placentibus[4] viris, [iter] laboriosum arripuisse, quam his sine de multis et immensis pecuniæ thesauris, sed undecunque congestis, de multitudine gentium infinita, sed non unanimi, non concordi, hoc in agone superbire. Veteris namque Testamenti percurre seriem, citeriora quoque respice tempora, et præcipue partium illarum exempla; semper invenies non virorum seu[5] virium, sed potius virtutum copia, divinaque magis gratia quam humana potentia triumphatum. Nam, ut ait Seneca,[6] "Non populorum numerus, sed paucorum virtus "pugnam conficit." Et alibi quoque, Scriptura testante, f. 153 *b*.
"Populus quantumlibet armatus sine Deo inermis est."

Prædictis itaque quatuor comitatus, ut credebatur,[7] imperator Fredericus, quanquam Cisalpinorum principum in

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[1] Benedict (ii. p. 62) says, on St. George's Day (23 Apr.), not St. Gregory's (12 Mar.).

[2] The remainder of this chapter, with the greater part of the next, is in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. xxix, xxx (vol. v. p. 367), and also forms ch. 27 of the *Symbolum Electorum*.

[3] *extorta*] *Exp. Hib.*; ortaca, MS.

[4] *placentibus*] *Exp. Hib.*; placentis, MS.

[5] *seu*] *Exp. Hib.*; set, MS.

[6] *Seneca . . . inermis est*] In *Exp. Hib.* the latter quotation comes first, and is attributed to Cassiodorus. In some MSS., however, it does not occur at all.

[7] *comitatus, ut credebatur*] MS. So also in one MS. (J.) of *Exp. Hib.*, the others omitting "comitatus" and reading "ut creditur."

signaculi susceptione postremus, in operis tamen executione laudabili maturatione se primum exhibuit. Qui[1] tanto cumulatiore tam in cœlis[2] palma, quam in terris gloria, se procul dubio dignum reddidit, quanto regnis amplioribus rebusque relictis, tantique imperii cura[3] posthabita, terminum primo statutum animosa constantia non præteriit.

Cap. XVI.

Visio quam super crucis negotio vidit ille qui scripsit hœc, et visionis expositio.

Vision of Giraldus, at Chinon, 10 May, 1189.

Unde et visionem, quam super hac temporis nostri miseria et crucis Christi contumelia mihi miserrimo, mihi minimo, et tamen a Domino in hac visione visitato Ille revelavit, qui interdum quæ abscondit a sapientibus revelat parvulis, hic evidenter evolvere præter rem non putavi.

In illa igitur intestina et[4] detestabili nimis Anglorum regis et comitis Pictavensis discordia, apud Chinonense castrum cum rege constitutus, vi. idus Maii, nocte in somnis et noctis hora quasi circa primum gallicantum, visus sum mihi videre turbam hominum multam in cœlum intuentem et tanquam novum aliquid admirantem. Elevans igitur oculos et suspiciens quidnam[5] esset, vidi intra nubium[6] quarundam densitatem clarissimæ lucis splendorem.[7] Et statim, separatis ab invicem nubibus, tanquam inferiore hoc cœlo ibidem ex parte reserato, oculorum acie per fenestram illam ad empireum usque transpenetrante,[8] in multitudine multa curia illa cœlestis apparuit, intentatis ei undique armorum omnium generibus, in direptionem data et tanquam hostibus ad mactandum exposita. Videas[9] huic gladio caput, illi brachium amputari; illos sagittis eminus peti; illos lanceis et gladiis cominus; illos sicis transpenetrari. Et cum intuentium multi, vel propter fulgorem nimium, vel propter rerum visarum seu terrorem seu pietatem, proni in facies

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[1] *Qui . . . se procul dubio dignum reddidit*] Quem . . . dignum dixerim, *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *cœlis*] *Exp. Hib.*; cœlestis, MS.

[3] *cura*] *Exp. Hib.*; circa, MS.

[4] *et*] et in, MS.

[5] *quidnam*] quidam, MS.

[6] *nubium*] nubili, MS.

[7] *splendorem*] splendorem erumpere, *Exp. Hib.*

[8] *transpenetrante*] *Exp. Hib.*; transpenetrare, MS.

[9] *Videas*] *Exp. Hib.*; Vide, MS.

suas cecidissent, ad exitum rei videndum visus sum mihi singula longe diutius aliis et diligentius intueri. Completa igitur in brevi quasi de aliis victoria cunctis, principem ipsum militiæ cœlestis, tanquam in medio suorum et majestate sedentem, sicut depingi solet, carnifices cruenti communiter invadunt; et umbilico tenus a dextris illum a throno extrahentes nudato pectore dextrum ei latus lancea confodiunt. Et statim vox terribilis valde secuta est in hunc modum: "Woth, Woth,[1] Pater et Filius! Woth, Woth, Spi- "ritus Sanctus!" Sed utrum desuper demissa, an a circumstanti populo, prolata fuerit, hoc mihi datum est ignorare. Et sic[2] mihi demum tam vocis hujus, quam visionis, terror experrecto somnum excussit.

Vision of Giraldus.

f. 154.

Illum itaque testem invoco[3] cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, quoniam me statim in stratu[4] residentem, et hæc mecum anxie recolentem, tantus per dimidiam vel amplius horam et tam vehemens carnis et spiritus horror invasit, quod, fere extra me factus, a mente transire et dementire timebam. Verumtamen ad unicum illud salutis humanæ refugium promptissima devotione recurrens, et signo crucis creberrimo tam frontem signans, quam pectus muniens, sequentem noctis illius partem usque ad auroram duxi insomnem. Et sic, divina opitulante gratia, tandem ad me reversus mihique demum plena securitate sum[5] restitutus. Nunquam tamen ad animum, nec etiam hodierno die, absque horrore magno visionem potui revocare. Quid enim terribilius quam a creatura conspici ferro confodi Creatorem? Quis cœlorum cives, Deique domesticos hominumque patronos, in cædem trahi videat et turbari non turbatus? Quis, inquam, naturæ[6] Dominum et[7] universitatis Figulum pati conspiciat et non compatitur?

Quid autem hæc sibi visio[8] velit et quid portendere valeat, absque præjudicio paucis absolvam. Qui olim in propria persona passus est pro suis, nunc iterum se pati significat, sed in suis. Et qui, per crucis triumphum ad dexteram Patris ascendens, regnum suum victoriosus intravit,

Interpretation of the vision.

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[1] *Woth, Woth*] Woch, Woch, *Exp. Hib.*

[2] *sic*] *Exp. Hib.*; si, MS.

[3] *invoco*] *Exp. Hib.*; invoca, MS.

[4] *stratu*] strato, *Exp. Hib.*

[5] *sum*] *Exp. Hib.*; siue, MS.

[6] *naturæ*] ipsum naturæ, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] *et*] *Exp. Hib.*; pro, MS.

[8] *visio*] *Exp. Hib.*; nisi, MS.

Vision of Giraldus interpreted.

illi jam hostes facti in capite regnum auferre, majestatem minuere, ecclesiam subvertere nituntur,[1] quam ipse sibi fuso sanguine comparavit. Ideoque, ut arbitror, non in cruce, sed in majestate apparuit hæc passio, tanquam, cruce jam perdita et de medio sublata, illam quam in cruce sibi adquisierat hostes ei majestatis gloriam auferre contendant; vel potius, sicut in terra illa sacra, quam post tot et tanta corporalis præsentiæ suæ sacramenta demum proprio cruore consecravit, fideles sui, non in cruce nunc, sed in armis et bellico certamine passi sunt, sic suam ipse passionem istam, quam in suis quodammodo nunc sustinet, ubi in majestate[2] Patri corregnat, non in cruce voluit, sed in armis et bellico tumultu declarari. Sicut et eodem supplicii genere, quo Romæ passurus erat Petrus, se quoque passurum in Petro testatus est, et ipse[3] dicens, "Venio Romam iterum crucifigi"; totam itaque cœlestem curiam[4] cædi per compassionem simili strage designavit, suos volens ad vindictam vel tanti doloris ostensione provocari.

f. 154 *b*. De voce autem illa, a barbara[5] incipiente et in Latina verba descendente, quod mihi videtur edisseram. *Woth*, *Woth*, Teutonica lingua quasi geminata dolentis interjectio est. Idem ergo sonat ac si diceretur, "Vhe, Vhe, Pater et Filius! "Vhe, Vhe, Spiritus Sanctus!" De juncturæ namque ratione non discutio, dummodo[6] sententia pateat. Quod ergo, inter tot linguarum genera, luguber ille planctus a Teutonica lingua cœpit et terminatus est in Latinam, significare potest quod, pro[7] variis mundi nationibus, Teutonicæ tantum et Latinæ linguæ populis eorumque principi Salvatoris injuria, sicut vindictæ declarat maturatio, molesta[8] videtur. Absit enim ut de futura fidelium strage, et præcipue populorum eorundem in hujus expeditionis aggressu, passio vel planctus intelligi queat.

Videat[9] itaque lector quemadmodum quod ex visionis natura evenire posse verebar, quoniam id quidem[10]

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[1] *nituntur*] *Exp. Hib.*; nititur, MS.

[2] *majestate*] *Exp. Hib.*; maiestatem, MS.

[3] *ipse*] ipso, MS.

[4] *curiam*] *Exp. Hib.*; curam, MS.

[5] *barbara*] *sc.* voce; barbaris, *Exp. Hib.*

[6] *dummodo*] cum modo, *Exp. Hib.*

[7] *pro*] præ, *Exp. Hib.*

[8] *molesta*] *Exp. Hib.*; molestia, MS.

[9] *Videat . . . designasse*] In *Symb. Elect.* See Mr. Dimock's note, vol. v. p. 372.

[10] *id quidem*] id quod, *Symb. Elect.*

minime volebam, minus expressi, sed tamen intactum ex industria non reliqui. Porro ex post facto claruit, et nimia evidentia palam fuit, lugubrem illam duarum linguarum lamentationem non præteritam, ut primum exposui, sed futuram potius eorundem cum suo duce populorum stragem lamentabilem designasse.

Crusade of the emperor Frederic, A.D. 1189.

Imperator quippe Fretherieus, Ungarorum regno pacifice transcurso, per Græcorum fines, sibi ex antiqua dominandi invidia ubique contrarios, ut erat strenuus in armis et animosus, nullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias, quoniam "arma tenenti omnia "dat qui multa negat," destructis urbibus et castris obrutis,[1] fortia quoque confudit et aspera potenter complanavit. Sed quoniam imperialis majestas neminem citra defectionem impetit, sed hostibus suis bella semper indicit, præmiserat imperator ad Saladinum, priusquam iter arriperet, nuntios et litteras diffiduciatas ei et despicatas inimicitias, nisi Christianitati quam læserat satisfaceret, ad plenum denuntiantes. Quas litteras, una cum epistola Soldani responsoria, sub eisdem verbis quibus et scriptæ sunt, hic inserere curavi, quatinus ex istis animosa Cæsaris audacia, ex illis vero superba tyranni resistendi fiducia, declaretur.

Cap. XVII.

De imperatoris animositate, et litteris despicationis Saladino transmissis.[2]

His letter to Saladin, A.D. 1188.

"Fretherieus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, semper "Augustus, et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator, et "totius monarchiæ fortunatus moderator,[3] Saladino præsidi

[1] *obrutis*] obruis, MS.

[2] This letter is in Benedict of Peterborough, ii. p. 62; Hoveden, ii. p. 356; the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* (in *Memorials, etc., of Richard I.*, ed. Stubbs), p. 35; Ralph de Diceto, ii. p. 56; and Ralph de Coggeshale, p. 257. Giraldus is in closest agreement with MS. A. of the *Itinerarium*.

[3] *et totius . . . moderator*] only in *Itin.* MS. A.

" Saracenorum, quondam viro illustri, Jerusalem fugere " exemplo Pharaonis.

" Devotionis tuæ litteras multis retro temporibus ad nos " destinatas super arduis negotiis, [tibi] quidem si verbis f. 155. " fides subfuisset profuturis,[1] prout nostræ majestatis decuit " magnificentiam, suscepimus, et epistolarum nostrarum allo- " quiis magnitudini tuæ consulere dignum duximus. Nunc " autem quoniam terram sanctam profanasti, cui [æterni] " regis [imperamus] imperio, in præside Judææ, Samariæ et " Palestinorum in tanti sceleris præsumptuosam et plecti- " bilem audaciam debita animadversione decernere imperialis " sollicitudo nos ammonet. Quamobrem nisi occupatam ter- " ram ante omnia restituas, adjuncta satisfactione, sacris " constitutionibus pro tam nefariis excessibus taxata, ne " minus legitimum bellum gerere videamur, a capite Kalen- " darum Novembris [2] evoluto anni spatio terminum præsti- " tuimus ad experiendam belli fortunam in campo Taneos " in virtute vivificæ crucis et in nomine veri Joseph. Vix " enim credimus hoc te latere, quod ex scripturis veterum " et ex antiquis historiis nostri temporis et facti novitate " redolet.[3] Numquid scire dissimulas ambas Æthiopias, " Mauritaniam, Persiam, Syriam, Parthiam, ubi Marci Crassi " nostri[4] dictatoris fata sunt præmaturata, Judæam, Samariam, " Maritimam,[5] Arabiam, Chaldæam, ipsam quoque Ægyptum, " ubi, proh pudor, civis Romanus Antonius, vir insigni vir- " tute præditus, citra nitorem temperantiæ, secus quam " decebat [militem] a tanto rerum culmine emissum, minus " sobriis Cleopatræ inserviebat amoribus? Numquid enim " scire dissimulas Armeniam et alias terras innumerabiles " ditioni nostræ[6] subjectas? Norunt hoc reges, quorum " cruore gladii Romani crebrius sunt inebriati; et tu quidem in " ipsa rerum experientia [Deo auctore][7] intelliges, quid possint " victrices aquilæ, quid cohortes diversarum nationum, quid " furor Theutonicus et in pace arma capessens, quid caput

He challenges him to battle in Nov. 1189.

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[1] *profuturis*] profuturus, MS.

[2] Hov. adds "anno incarnationis " Dominicæ millesimo centesimo " octogesimo octavo."

[3] *et facti novitate*] factum redolet, *Itin.*, etc.; et facti novitatem, *Itin.* A.

[4] *nostri*] vestri, MS.

[5] *Maritimam*] *Itin.*, etc.; Mauritaniam, MS.

[6] *ditioni nostræ*] ditioni nostræ subjectioni nostræ, MS.

[7] *Deo auctore*] om. MS.; in all other copies.

"indomitum Rheni,[1] quid juventus Histri, quæ nunquam "fugam novit, quid procerus Baviarus, quid Swevus astutus, "quid Franchonia circumspecta,[2] quid in gladio ludens Sax-"onia, quid Turingia, quid inquieta Burgundia, quid West-"phalia, quid agilis Brabancia, quid nescia pacis Lotho-"ringia, quid Alpini salaces, quid Frisonia in amento volans, "quid Boemia[3] ultro mori gaudens, quid Polonia[4] feris suis "ferior, quid Austria, quid Ruwenia, quid Istria, quid "Rothinthia, quid partes Illiricæ, quid Lumbardia, quid "Tuscia, quid Anconitana[5] Marcia, quid Venetus spreta,[6] "quid Pisanus nauclerus; denique qualiter dextera nostra, "quam senio arguis affectam, gladium vibrare didicerit, dies "illa plena reverentiæ et jocunditatis tropheo[7] Christi "prætaxata te docebit." He boasts of the peoples under his sway.

Cap. XVIII.

Responsio Saladini, et litteræ contrariæ imperatori ab ipso directæ.[8]

"Illi regi sincero, amico, magno, excelso, Fretherico regi "Almanniæ, in nomine Dei miserantis, per gratiam Dei "unius, potentis, exsuperantis, victoris, perennis, cujus regni "non erit finis. Grates ei agimus perennes, cujus gratia "est super totum mundum; deprecamur eum ut infundat "orationem suam super prophetas suos, et maxime instruc-"torem nostrum, nuntium suum Mahumeth prophetam, quem "misit pro correctione rectæ legis, quam faciet apparere "super cunctas leges. Saladin's reply. f. 155 b.

"Actum[9] notum facimus regi sincero, potenti, magno, "amico, amicabili, regi Almanniæ, quod quidam homo,

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[1] *Rheni*] *Itin.*, etc.; regni, MS.

[2] Bened., Hov., Dic., here add "quid Anglia provida et ingeniosa, "quid Albania, quid Cambria."

[3] *Boemia*] Reemia, Bened., Hov.

[4] *Polonia*] Bolonia, *Itin.*; Boemia, Bened., Hov.; Bolenia, Dic., Cog. There is great divergence also in the following names.

[5] *Anconitana*] Anticontana, MS.

[6] *spreta*] *Itin.* A.; proretha, *Itin.*, Bened., Dic., Cog.

[7] *tropheo*] triumpho, Hov., Dic., Cog., *Itin.* A.; om. Bened., *Itin.*

[8] This reply is in the *Itinerarium* and Coggeshale only.

[9] *Actum*] Attamen, *Itin.*, Cog.

" Henricus nomine, venit ad nos dicens se nuntium vestrum " esse; et detulit nobis quandam cartam.[1] Et audivimus " eum[2] viva voce loquentem, et verbis quæ ore dixit verbis " respondimus; sed hoc [est] responsum cartæ. Quod si " computatis eos qui vobiscum concordant veniendi super " nos, et nominatis eos, et dicitis[3]: rex talis terræ, et rex " alterius terræ, et comes talis, et tales archiepiscopi, et " marchiones et milites; et si nos velimus enumerare illos " qui sunt in nostro servitio, et qui sunt intendentes nostro " præcepto et prompti nostro sermoni, et qui dimicarent " coram nostris manibus, non posset hoc in scriptis redigi. " Et si Christianorum computatis nomina, Saracenorum sunt " plura et plura abundantius quam Christianorum. Et si " inter vos[4] et eos quos mandastis[5] Christianos mare est, " inter Saracenos qui non possunt æstimari non est mare " inter nos et eos, nec ullum impedimentum veniendi ad " nos. Et[6] nobiscum habentur Bedewini, quos si oppone- " remus inimicis nostris, sufficerent; et Turkemanni, quos " si effunderemus[7] super hostes nostros, destruerent eos; et " rustici nostri, qui dimicarent strenue, si juberemus, contra " gentes quæ venturæ sunt super terram nostram, et dita- " rentur de eis, et exterminarent eas. Et quomodo? nos " habemus nobiscum Soldanos bellicosos, per quos terram " apertam habemus et acquisitam, et expugnatos inimicos; " et hi et omnes reges Paganismi[8] non tardabunt, cum eos " summonuerimus, non morabuntur, cum eos vocaverimus. " Et vos cum congregati fueritis, sicut carta vestra dicit, et " ducetis,[9] sicut nuntius vester narrat, obviabimus vobis per " potentiam Dei; nec sufficit vobis terra ista quæ est in " maritima, sed transibimus voluntate Dei.[10] Nam si vene- " ritis, cum toto posse vestro venietis,[11] et præsentes eritis " cum omni gente vestra; et scimus quod in terra vestra

The Saracens outnumber the Christians.

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[1] *cartam*] cartam quam dixit esse vestram. Nos legi fecimus cartam, *Itin.*, Cog. The omission here is no doubt due to homœoteleuton.

[2] *eum*] eam, MS.

[3] *et dicitis*] *Itin.;* dictis, MS., Cog.

[4] *vos*] nos, MS.

[5] *mandastis*] nominastis, *Itin.*, Cog.

[6] *Et*] Et si, MS.

[7] *effunderemus*] offenderemus, MS.

[8] *Paganismi*] paganissimi, MS.

[9] *ducetis*] *Itin.*, Cog.; ducens, MS.

[10] *Dei*] Dei, et obtinebimus terras vestras universas fortitudine Dei, *Itin.*, Cog.

[11] *venietis*] *Itin.;* veniens, MS.

" nullus remanebit qui se defendere posset, nec terram tueri. " Et quando Deus victoriam nobis sua fortitudine de vobis " donaverit, nihil amplius erit, quam ut terras vestras libere " capiamus fortitudine sua et voluntate. Adunatio enim " legis Christianorum bis venit super nos in Babylone, una " vice apud Damascum et altera apud Alexandriam, et erat " maritima terræ Jerusalem in manu Christianorum, et in " terra Damasci et in terra Sarracenorum et in singulis " castellis singuli erant domini sibi proficientes. Nostis " qualiter Christiani utraque vice redierunt, et ad qualem " exitum venerunt; et hæ nostræ gentes refertæ sunt cum " regionibus suis, et Deus adunavit nobis regiones affluentius, " et coadunavit eas longe lateque in potestate nostra, et " Babyloniam cum pertinentiis, et terram Damasci, et ma- " ritimam [1] Jerusalem, et terram Gesiræ, et castella sua, et " terram Roasiæ cum pertinentiis suis,[2] et per gratiam Dei " hoc totum in manibus nostris est et residuum regnum [3] " Saracenorum nostro est imperio. Nam si mandaremus " excellentissimis regibus Saracenorum, non retraherent se " a nobis. Et si summoneremus Calephum de Baldac, quem " Deus salvet, veniendum ad nos, de sede excelsi imperii " assurgeret et veniret in auxilium excellentiæ nostræ. Et " nos obtinuimus, per virtutem Dei et potentiam, Jerusalem " et terram ejus; et remanent [in manibus] [4] Christianorum " tres civitates, Tyrus, Tripolis et Antiochia, et de his non " est aliud nisi ut occupentur. Attamen si bellum vultis, " et si Deus voluerit, ut per voluntatem suam sit quod " totam terram Christianorum acquiramus, obviabimus per " virtutem Dei, sicut scriptum est in litteris nostris. Verum " si nos de bono pacis requisieritis, mandabitis procuratori- " bus istorum trium locorum prædictorum, ut nobis ea sine " contradictione assignent, et nos sanctam Crucem reddemus, " et liberabimus omnes Christianos captivos qui sunt in tota " terra nostra, et permittemus vobis ad sepulchrum unum " sacerdotem, et reddemus abbatias quæ solent esse tempore " Paganismi, et bonum eis faciemus, et permittemus pere- " grinos venire in tota vita nostra, et habebimus vobiscum " pacem. Quod si carta quæ ad nos venit per manus Hen-

They have twice beaten them, at Damascus and at Alexandria.

f. 156.

He offers terms of peace.

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[1] *maritimam*] maritanam, MS.

[2] *suis*] suis et regionem Indiæ cum pertinentiis suis, *Itin.*, Cog.

[3] *regnum*] regum, MS.

[4] *in manibus*] *Itin.*, Cog.; om. MS.

" rici nominati sit carta regis, scripsimus cartam nostram " pro responso, et Deus erigat nos ad consilium suum sua " voluntate.

" Carta hæc scripta fuit anno adventus [Prophetæ] nostri " Machumeth quingentesimo [1] et lxxxiiii^{or} gratia Dei solius.

" Et Deus salvet prophetam nostrum Machumeth et suam " progeniem, et salvet salvationem Salvatoris Domini excelsi " regis victoriosi, adamatoris veridici verbi, comptoris vexilli " veritatis, correctoris orbis et legis, soldani Sarracenorum " et Paganorum, servitoris [2] duarum sanctarum domorum et " sanctæ domus Jerusalem, patris victorum, Joseph filii " Job, suscitatoris progeniei Murmuræni." [3]

Anger of Frederic at receiving this letter.

Hanc [4] superbi et infidelis tyranni epistolam, cum nugis suis, magnificus imperator contemnens,[5] dignas principe iras concipit, et ad bella totis affectibus ardescit. Cujus et nos iter itinerisque labores et difficultates, casusque secundos et asperos, exitus quoque lamentabiles, sicut historica veritate sunt explanata, luculentoque stilo et studio exquisitissimo exarata, dignum duximus declarare. Ut autem plenius hoc et dilucidius innotescat, ab his quæ de transitu ejus- f. 156 *b*. dem per Ungariam anticipavimus et paulo remotius ordiemur.

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[1] *quingentesimo*] dno, MS.

[2] *servitoris*] MS. and *Itin.* A.; servatoris, *Itin.*; salvatoris, Cog.

[3] *Murmurœni*] *Itin.*; mirmura est, MS.; Mirmuræni, Cog.

[4] *Hanc . . . ardescit*] This sentence is from the *Itinerarium*, p. 42.

[5] *contemnens*] contempnent, MS.

Cap. XIX.

Qualiter imperator per Ungariam iter arripuit et, Danubio transito, per Vulgariam in Macedoniam venit.[1]

Cæsarem itaque totius imperii sequuntur magnates, et apud Maguntiam, ubi ex edicto imperiali convenerant, una omnes et unanimiter omnes in votum tam eximiæ peregrinationis proclamant, "A Domino factum "est istud, qui spirat ubi vult, et corda omnium inclinat "quo vult." Nam principes tanti non inanis gloriæ appetitu illecti,[2] non inducti pretio, non precibus excitati, sed solo supernæ retributionis desiderio per Deum et propter Deum ad militiam accinguntur, etc.

Imperial assembly at Mentz, 27 Mar. 1188.

Antiquum illud et inexorabile odium quod contra Latinos Graii dudum conceperant tenax successio temporum transfudit in posteros. Sed si odiorum fomes et ratio quæritur,

Itin., p. 45.

Hatred of the Greeks for the Latins.

"Non esset vitium si non ratione careret."

Hoc tamen pro causa constanter inducere possumus, quod, cum Latini sententia pariter et armis floreant, illi se prorsus inscios et imbelles conspiciunt, et hinc odii sumpto fomite alienis bonis invidi contabescunt. Gens perfida, generatio nequam et omnino degenerans, quæ quanto illustrior exstiterit, tanto vilescit insignius, cum aurum in scoriam transierit, granum in paleam, puritas in fæcem, gloria in confusionem. Multa Graii[3] veteres et armis aggressi et studiis assecuti, sed omnis ille virtutum fervor refrixit in posteris et in orbem Latinum migravit; ut qui ante fontes, nunc rivuli vel potius alvei arentes et exhausti. Virtutum siquidem successor nullus, scelerum omnis; nam Sinonis figmenta,

Their degeneracy.

[1] This and the three following chapters are extracted from the *Itinerarium*, pp. 42–57, generally following MS. A.

[2] *illecti*] *Itin.*; electi, MS.

[3] *Graii*] gravat, MS.

A.D. 1189. Ulixis fallaciam, Atrei atrocitatem, retinent. Quod si Græci militia quæritur, arte non armis dimicat; si fides, amicus obest, inimicus obesse non potest. Gens ista, cum in locis supradictis nostrorum transitum impedire non possent, quod potuit fecit. Indigenæ cuncti ad montana contendunt, venalium solatia subtrahunt, lares vacuas, omni amota supellectili, venturis relinquunt.[1]

Cap. XX.

De nuntiis ad imperatorem Græcum transmissis, primoque captis et detentis, deinde ex timore remissis et victualium foro[2] concesso.

Itin., p. 46. The Greek emperor (Isaac) for a time confines Frederic's envoys.

Imperator quidem episcopum Monasteriensem cum aliis quibusdam principibus, sub obtentu pacis, Constantinopolim jam ante transmiserat. Quos nequissimus et crudelis tyrannus retrusit in carcerem, nec pacem legati violare perhorruit, quam etiam apud barbaros sanxit antiquitas, consuetudo approbat, honestas commendat. Postmodum vero, metu potius quam juris intuitu ductus, legatos ligatos absolvit; nam urbis regiæ timebat excidium, si nostrorum citius non placasset offensam. Dignum sane quod urbs illa
f. 157. solo tenus eversa procumberet; nam, si famæ creditur, novis polluebatur mahumeris, quas perfidus imperator indulserat fieri, ut fœdus quod Turchorum inierat conjuratus obligatus confirmaret.

Itin., p. 47. Frederic winters at Adrianople.

Jam æstas decoctior in autumnum vergebat, et Libræ signum quadam æqualitate temporum diem noctemque librabat. Imperator Romanorum, rex magnificus, hyemandi gratia Adrianopolim tendit, quam vacuam et ab incolis desertam ingressus, ibidem stationem faciens, aptum movendi castra tempus exspectat.

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[1] *relinquunt*] relinquit, MS. | [2] *foro*] fore, MS.

Dux Suaviæ, filius imperatoris, timens ne otia luxum, luxus ignaviam pararet,[1] sub ipso tempore hyberno exercitum exercendum statuit, et castrum quoddam, [quod] non longe ab urbe prædicta distabat, expugnare contendit. Illuc [2] Græci confluxerant, ut inde si quas possent Latinis molirentur insidias, loci munitione confisi, sed confusi; nam celeri victoria domiti, victi, vincti et capti tenentur. His auditis, Bizantii [3] princeps animo pejora veretur; et, totius imperii timens excidium, festinos ad imperatorem nuntios destinat, qui pacis obsides, forum venalium, naves transvectorias transituris [4] promittant. Imperator, licet suorum plurimi pacem quamcunque cum tyranno pacisci molestum haberent,[5] maluit tamen fœdus inire oblatum quam differre propositum; et, jam instante Pascha, mare illud strictum transvehitur, quod Brachium Sancti Georgii usitato vocabulo nuncupatur. Hoc mare, licet spatio angustiore contractum, non humili tamen gloria insignitur, quod urbem tantam præterfluit et, orbis gemini discrimen faciens, tam Asiam quam Europam delambit.

A.D. 1189. The duke of Suabia takes a fortress.

Isaac offers hostages, provisions, and ships.

Frederic crosses the Dardanelles, 23-28 Mar. 1190.

CAP. XXI.

De fraude soldani Yconii, [et] terra ipsius tota per [6] quadraginta dies in armis [7] et inedia, periculis multis bellisque fere continuis, transpenetrata, armis [8] quidem et animositate, grandique hostium strage, via parata.

Soldanus Yconii, vir subdolus et sanguinem Christianum sitiens, quodam fraudis prætextu, cum nostris amicitiam simulans, ut malignum animi virus [9] occul-

Itin., p. 48. Treachery of the sultan of Iconium.

[1] *pararet*] pareret, MS.
[2] *Illuc*] illud, MS.
[3] *Bizantii*] Bisamci, MS.
[4] *transituris*] transiturus, MS.
[5] *haberent*] *Itin.*; perirent, MS.
[6] *per*] pro, MS.
[7] *in armis*] in eamis, MS.
[8] *armis*] animis, MS. See table of chapters, p. 223.
[9] *virus*] vir, MS.

A.D. 1190. tans eos, si posset, incautos[1] disperdat, nuntiis sane ad Cæsarem, cum adhuc in Græcia degeret, non semel transmissis, morantem suscitaverat ut veniret, Græcos et Græcorum principem de dolo accusans, se Christianis devotum et fidelem pollicitus, qui sua et suos venturis exponeret, et tam forum venalium quam inoffensos transitus omnibus exhiberet. Cæsar vero plus æquo credulus, qui tales æstimabat alios qualem se ipse noverat, universis comminando edixit, ne fines Turchorum ingressi quicquam raperent, sed pacem quam pacti erant studiosius observarent. Sic ergo contigit ut prædam maximam, quam in ipsis[2] regni januis soldanus ex industria dimiserat, nostri prætermeantes relinque- f. 157 *b*. rent omnino intactam. Heu mens hominum venturi nescia! Nam si famem futuram, iter asperum, prænoscerent et insidias,[3] casus quidem obtulerat[4] unde sibi providisse poterant, quibus tantum proximo[5] imminebat discrimen. Cæterum non usque adeo verbis infidi principis gens nostra fidem habuit, ut ex minimæ[6] securitatis neglectu dissoluta incederet et inermis.

Numbers of the army and order of march. *Itin.*, p. 49.

Merchiam[7] igitur ingressuri arma omnes arripiunt, quorum numerus tria militum millia, reliquorum vero circiter octoginta millia continebat. Erant autem antistites vij., archipræsul unus, duces duo, comites xix., tres vero marchiones; et hæc acies tam insignis

"Nec primam similem visa est nec habere sequentem."

Ac ne molem tantam confusi ordinis turbaret seditio, in partem trinam totus secessit exercitus; prima duci[8] Suaviæ, postrema imperatori, media summariis et sarcinarum custodiæ deputata, et cætera.[9]

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[1] *incautos*] in tantos, MS.

[2] *in ipsis*] in ipsam, MS.

[3] *prænoscerent et insidias*] tyranni prænossent insidias, *Itin.*

[4] *obtulerat*] *Itin.*; obtulerant, MS.

[5] *tantum proximo*] proximo, over an erasure; tantum et tam proximum, *Itin.*

[6] *minimæ*] nimiæ, *Itin.*

[7] *Merchiam*] Parthiam, *Itin.*

[8] *duci*] ducit, MS.

[9] The accounts in the *Itin.* of the two battles of 30 Apr., 5 May, are here omitted.

Tandem vero post multos et graves insultus pervenitur Yconium, ubi nequam ille proditor se intra urbis munita concluserat; nostri autem non longe figunt tentoria, ignari prorsus quid dies crastina minetur[1] infestum. Nocte ipsa, cum jam Pentecostes solemnitas ferme fuisset exacta, imber tantus et tam vehemens irruit, ut illius procellæ violentia intra septa castrorum nihilominus desæviret. Mane facto, consumptis nubibus, aer illuxit purior, et ecce subito cum tubis et tympanis et clangore horribili sono[2] Turchorum exercitus circumquaque diffusus imminet, quantus nec ante visus nec credebatur videndus; quod sicubi tercentena vel plura legantur fuisse millia, æstimari poterant, numerari[3] non poterant. Hanc omnem multitudinem filius soldani, Melkinus nomine, in arma exciverat, volens palmæ titulum socero suo Salahadino præripere, tam de victoria certus, quam de suorum numero ac virtute confisus. Soldanus interim cujusdam turris suprema conscendens in specula residet, unde in subjectis arvorum spatiis acies bellaturas prospicit,[4] sperans adimplendum in proximo quod animus promissor futurum dictabat.

A.D. 1190. *Itin.*, p. 51. Battle before Iconium, 18 May.

The Turks led by the sultan's son.

Imperator, cum plerosque suorum ad insolitam hostium multitudinem trepidantes attenderet, magnanimi[5] principis fiduciam ostendit[6]; et erectis ad cœlum manibus in conspectu omnium grates agit Deo, quod inevitabilis pugnæ jam instet necessitas, quam fuga hostium huc usque suspendit. Hac voce ingens ardor cunctis incutitur, qui, faciem Cæsaris contemplantes lætissimam, a sene juvenes, a fragili fortes, ab uno universi, virtutis suscipiunt incentivum. Quis Deus magnus sicut Deus noster? Omnis illa multitudo tam certa vincendi, ut vincula potius quam enses stringe-

Itin., p. 52.

f. 158.

Victory of the Christians.

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[1] *crastina minetur*] *Itin.*; crastinetur, MS.

[2] *horribili sono*] horrisono, *Itin.*

[3] *numerari*] *Itin.*; imitari, MS.

[4] *prospicit*] conspiciat, *Itin.*

[5] *magnanimi*] magnimi, MS.

[6] *ostendit*] exserit, *Itin.*

A.D. 1190. ret, in momento succumbit, simulque et urbs illa capta tenetur et exterior hostis prosternitur. Utrimque strages, ubique cædes, undique telorum acervi; fugam densitas impedit[1]; numerositas, unde gloriabatur,[2] offendit.

"Jam prope res agitur, certatur cominus,"

confringuntur arcus, sagittæ non evolant,

"Vix locus est gladiis; sic omnia turbat"

turba, nostrisque procedit in gloriam, quod hostes disposuerant ad ruinam. Fugax bellum, quod hactenus inter vepres et rupium fauces hæserat, jam spatio liberiore conseritur.[3] Christicolæ iram satiant, quæ toties frustra exarserat; Turci experiuntur inviti quid possint cominus, quos eminus provocabant. Hanc insignem victoriam fidelibus suis non indigne virtus divina contribuit; erat enim in castris castitas, in armis disciplina, in omnibus et præ omnibus timor Domini, apud omnes amor proximi, qui sic erant affectione fraterna unanimes, sicut periculorum exstitere consortes.

Itin., p. 53.

Iconium is taken, 18 May.

Soldanus, urbe capta, cum unicam munitionem quo se contulerat restare cerneret, festinus ad Cæsarem nuntios dirigit, culpam omnem refundens in filium; se prorsus innocuum asserens, aurum quantum petit[4] pollicitus, fœderis obsides quot et quos jubeat præstiturus. Cæsar, heu nimium facilis! quod offertur, suscipit, quod postulatur, indulget, minus quidem in hoc facto laudandus, dum virum sanguinum et dolosum pæne captum absolvit, quem honestius erat perdere, quam tantum Christiani nominis hostem illæsum servare. Datis obsidibus et fœderis pactione firmata, necdum maligni proditoris quiescit impietas; nam Christicolas, cum jam remotius ab Yconio iter agerent, nunc ex insidiis nunc palam lacessit. Obsides quidnam

The sultan imputes the treachery to his son and obtains terms of peace.

[1] *impedit*] impendit, MS.
[2] *gloriabatur*] gloriabantur, *Itin.*
[3] *conseritur*] conserit, MS.
[4] *petit*] petat, *Itin.*

hoc esset interrogati utile sibi confingunt[1] mendacium; asserunt enim Turchos silvestres esse, qui nullius imperio subjacent, sedibus vagantur incertis, nihil habentes proprium, aliena semper vel rapina vel furto insectantur. Parcius tamen instant, non immemores suorum occubuisse quam plurimos; nam, sicut modestus æstimator asseruit, in superioribus bellis xxij. Thurcorum millia gladius occisor consumpsit. A.D. 1190.

Jam victor exercitus Armeniæ fines ingreditur; lætantur omnes quod, hostile regnum emensi, securi fidelium arvis insederint.[2] Sed heu! terra corruit[3] funestior quæ cunctorum lætitiam et lumen exstinguit. "Accedat [homo] ad cor altum," et investiget, si possit, consilia Domini, cujus "judicia abyssus multa." Occurret nonnunquam unde stupeat, unde turbetur; ita tamen quod in omnibus Auctorem noverit omnium commendandum.

Itin., p. 54.
The army enters (Little) Armenia, 30 May.
Ps. lxiii. 7.
Ps. xxxv. 7.
f. 158 *b*.

Cap. XXII.

De imperatore fluvio quodam Armeniæ post tot victorias submerso, proh dolor, et exstincto; et exercitu tanto apud Antiochiam exinanito et, post tantam inediam copia secuta, tam desperato[4] quam disperso.

Erat locus in sinu Armeniæ, quem hinc montes ardui, hinc Selefii flumen præterfluens coarctabat, qua,[5] dum summarii et sarcinæ transeunt, victoriosus imperator subsistit. Vir quidem inclytus, cujus statura mediocriter eminens, crines rutili, barba rubens, utrimque interfusa canities; supercilia prominent, ignescunt oculi; gena brevior in amplum extenditur; pectus et

Itin., p. 54.
Frederic reaches the river Selef, 10 June.
Description of his person, etc.

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[1] *confingunt*] confringunt, MS.
[2] *insederint*] *Itin.*; insiderint, MS.
[3] *corruit*] occurrit, *Itin.*
[4] *desperato*] distemperato, table of chapters, above, p. 224.
[5] *qua*] quia, MS.

A.D. 1190. humeri diffunduntur, sed et cætera descriptio corporis in virum consurgit. In illo itaque, quod de Socrate legitur, insigne quiddam ac stupendum enituit; nam constantiam animi exprimebat vultus, semper idem et immobilis permanens, nec dolore obscurior, nec ira contractus, nec lætitia dissolutus. In tantum vero nativum Almanniæ venerabatur eloquium, ut, quanquam alterius linguæ non inscius esset, aliarum tamen gentium missis non nisi per interpretem loqueretur. Vir tantus cum propter præeuntes summarios diutius substitisset, tandem mora in tædium vertitur; et iter anticipare cupiens flumen proximum transmeare disponit, ut, illud a parte summariorum anteriore remensus, ad viæ redeat libertatem. O mare! O terra! O cœlum! ille Romani moderator imperii semper Augustus, per quem Romæ veteris refloruit gloria, revixit honos, potestas excrevit, heu! aquis deperit interceptus; et licet undique subsidium collaterale festinet,[1] vitæ tamen senilis igniculum mors præceps et matura exstinguit. At si libido natandi, sicut plerique asserunt, mortis causam intulisse dicatur, ipsa viri gravitas in contrarium disputat; nec fidem meretur, quod tantorum salutem natator invalidus undis fallacibus[2] commisisset. Conscientia teste, mors minus quam modus mortis sollicitat; sed hoc nobis in solatium venit, quod scriptum legitur, "Justus,[3] quacunque morte præoccu-"patus fuerit, in refrigerio erit," et cætera.

Itin., p. 55.

He tries to cross the river and is drowned.

Itin., p. 57.

The army reaches Antioch [21 June], which is given up to the duke of Suabia by its prince (Boemond III.).

Cæterum Antiochiam pervenientes Christicolæ post multa et longa jejunia cibis edacius indulgentes repletione subita suffocantur; sicque quos nec hostis nec fames vicerat, pax dira perimit, satietas perniciosa exstinguit. Hoc itaque tam turpi fato cum exercitus tanti pars amplior interiisset, reliqui rediere quam plurimi; pars modica, quam repatriare puduit, sub filio imperatoris militat, cui princeps Antiochiæ totam urbem

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[1] *festinet*] *Itin.*; sustinet, MS.
[2] *fallacibus*] *Itin.*; fallaciis, MS.
[3] Justus autem, si morte, etc., Sap. iv. 7.

ac munitiones universas contradit.[1] Majores[2] enim obtentu præsidii urbem duci ultronei judicant[3] committendam, ut ejus fines vir strenuus contra crebros hostium tueatur insultus. A.D. 1190. f. 159.

Cap. XXIII.

De imperatoris filio cum exercitus parte,[4] sed longe minore, de Anthiochia Tyrum, de Tyro Aconem, inutiliter transeunte.

The duke of Suabia reaches Acre, but his army wastes from disease and excess, and he himself dies [20 Jan. 1191].

Nec longe post dux Suaviæ, Tyrum inde transiens et postmodum Aconem ad nostrorum exercitum obsidentem pariter et obsessum a Tyro transvectus, in illa peste communi per aeris illius inclementiam patriamque pestiferam, nec non et Teutonicam præ omnibus intemperantiam, cum residuo suorum in brevi consumptus est.

The failure of the crusade a divine judgment.

Vide, lector, quemadmodum tantus exercitus, cujus moles Christianis erat ad gloriam et gentilibus ad terrorem, occulto Dei judicio, sed nunquam injusto, juxta visionis præscriptæ tenorem et vocis lugubris lamentationem miserabiliter exinanitus evanuit. Notandum hoc etiam, quod vir tantus, ad Christi obsequium tam egregie tamque devote, prout videbatur, accinctus, tam ignominiosum et tam inopinatum, una cum exercitu toto penitus ante pæne deleto, casum incurrit. Quapropter credi pro certo poterit, quod non usquequaquam Deo fuerit acceptus hic ejus aggressus, quia vel brachio suo, non divinæ potentiæ seu misericordiæ, si quid ei in hoc itinere gloriosum acciderit, ascribere proposuerat; aut potius propter schisma vicennale, quo clerici laicique apostolorum limina petentes Nota.

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[1] *contradit*] *Itin.* A.; contradicit, MS.

[2] *Majores*] Majoris, *Itin.*

[3] *ultronei judicant*] ultroneus dignum judicat, *Itin.*

[4] *parte*] perit, MS.

tot per ejus tyrannidem mutilati, tot exoculati fuerunt, totque necati, ecclesia quoque beati Petri in urbe Romulea et sede sua propria per Alemannos eadem tempestate combusta. Quia super his forsan tantis excessibus nec corde compunctus ad plenum fuerat, nec confessione purgatus, divinam in terris cum exercitu suo, quoniam propter delictum principis populus plerumque punitur, ultionem incurrit. Sicut populus Israeliticus numeratus a rege gravi ob hoc a Domino strage percussus fuit. Qualiter autem per principum nostrorum invidiam atque discordiam, ut paucis occasionaliter anticipem, quæ longis historicorum forte posterorum paginis materiam dabunt, totius Christianitatis in terra sacra paulo post conatus ex solo principum defectu ad plenum non profecerit, proh pudor atque dolor! ad eorum confusionem pœnamque plectibilem in terris inchoatam, quibusdam interpositis, sicut rerum gestarum ordo deposcit, sequentia declarabunt.

Cap. XXIV.

Qualiter, Cenomannia combusta, [rex Henricus][1] *inde fugatus fuit, et de verbo apostatico iterum ab ipso prolato.*

Failure of the conference [at La Ferté], 4–9 June, 1189.

His igitur non inutiliter, non incompetenter hic appositis, ad historiæ seriem revertamur. Circa kalendas itaque Junii, verbis pacis omnibus et colloquiis inter Anglorum regem et comitem Pictavensem, nutu divino vindictam accelerante, non ad concordiam sed potius iram versis inexorabilem, dirutis primum martiis viribus castellis Cenomanniis pluribus, demum ad urbem ipsam Cenomannensem a rege Francorum et comite[2] Pictavensi cum utriusque exercitu perventum

Philip and Richard appear

[1] *rex Henricus*] See the table of chapters, p. 224. The MS. here has "Ierusalem" before "inde."

[2] *comite*] comitem, MS.

est. Cum igitur, egredientibus urbanis, hostiles acies utrimque concurrere jam pararent et in primis, nondum tamen consertis omnino viribus, confligendo quasi præliorum præludia facerent, rex Anglorum, ut erat martios congressus quoad potuit semper evitans, suos intra mœnia revocando, suburbium totum, quod ipsam propemodum urbem, etsi non dignitate, majestate tamen et mercium copia diversarum æquiparabat, ne vel urbi officere vel hosti proficere posset, igne apposito comburi jussit. Ventus autem, quanquam ante ab urbe venisset, in contrarium subito versus, ut assolet, et augmentatus, vim flammeam ignis edacis in urbem illico interiorem transportavit; statimque in tantam violentiam multis in urbe locis ignis excrevit, ut rex quantocius cum suis exire urbemque relinquere, multis una cum urbe per maturationem amissis, compulsi fuissent.

before Le Mans.

f. 159 *b*.

The city is accidentally burnt, and Henry is forced to fly [12 June].

Cum igitur quasi per duo ab urbe miliaria, Francis filioque fugantibus, jam rex fugisset, in colle quodam,[1] de cujus eminentia urbem incensam prospicere poterat, versa facie, verbum hujuscemodi apostaticum, en et altera vice non minus inpudenter, emisit: "Urbem, "quam in terris plus dilexi, in qua natus scilicet et "nutritus eram, ubi et pater meus sepultus, corpus "quoque Sancti Juliani reconditum jacet, quoniam ad "confusionis meæ cumulum et dedecoris augmentum "mihi, Deus, hodie tam viliter abstulisti, et tibi quam "potero talionem reddam, rem quam in me plus dili"geres, tibi proculdubio subtrahendo."[2] Et cætera, quæ quidem præterire magis et contemnere quam litteris exprimere prudentem decet.

He gives vent to a blasphemous speech.

O pertinacem hominis abjecti malitiam et obstinatam! O quam procul a beati quoque Thobiæ patientia cor ejus aberat! Qui cum eleemosinarum largitionibus et sepeliendis occisorum corporibus semper institisset,

The author's reflexions thereupon.

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[1] *quodam*] quibusdam, MS.

[2] *subtrahendo*] subcontrahendo, MS.

Tobias, ii. 10—iii. 6. "contigit tamen ut, cum die quodam fatigatus a sepul-
"tura veniens domum jactasset se juxta parietem,
"ex nido hirundinis[1] dormienti illi calida stercora
"inciderent super oculos, fieretque cæcus. Hanc au-
"tem tentationem ideo permisit Dominus evenire
"illi, ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiæ ipsius,
"sicut Job. Nam, cum ab infantia sua Deum semper
"timuerit et mandata ejus custodierit, non est con-
"tristatus contra Deum quod plaga cæcitatis evenit
"ei, sed immobilis in Dei timore permansit, agens
"gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitæ suæ. Nam sicut
"sancto Job insultabant reges, ita et isti parentes et
"cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus dicentes, 'Ubi
"'est spes tua, pro qua eleemosinas et sepulturas
"'tribuisti?' Thobias vero increpabat eos dicens,
"'Nolite sic loqui, quoniam filii sanctorum sumus, et
"'vitam illam exspectamus quam Deus daturus est
"'his qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo.' Ad
"hoc etiam uxor ejus Anna objecit ei: 'Manifeste
"'facta est vana spes tua, et eleemosinæ tuæ modo
"'paruerunt.' His atque aliis hujusmodi verbis
f. 160. "exprobrabat ei. Tunc Thobias ingemuit et cœpit
"orare cum lacrimis dicens, 'Justus es, Domine, et
"'omnia judicia tua justa sunt, et omnes viæ tuæ
"'misericordia, veritas, et judicium. Et nunc, Domine,
"'memento mei, ne vindictam sumas de peccatis
"'meis; neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum
"'meorum, quia non obedivimus præceptis tuis et
"'traditi sumus in direptionem et captivitatem et
"'opprobrium omnibus nationibus in quibus disper-
"'sisti nos. Et nunc, Domine, secundum voluntatem
"'tuam fac mecum et præcipe recipi in pace spiritum
"'meum.'"

Cum hæc igitur et similia justis contingant et sanctis viris qui non meruerunt, quid obstinati contra

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[1] *hirundinis*] hirundini, MS.

Deum excandent, qui longe minora meritis suscipiunt quique mala quotidie facere non desistunt, et tamen tentationibus non resistunt? Talibus autem neque vexatio intellectum dabit, qui vix etiam Domino confitebuntur, cum benefecerit eis. Deficiunt autem omnino in duris, et in miseriis non subsistunt. Scriptum est autem de his qui perdiderunt substantiam, hi nempe, si non fuerint saturati, murmurabunt et blasphemabunt, similes illis de quibus in Psalmo scriptum est, "Cogitaverunt et locuti sunt nequitiam, iniquita-"tem in excelso locuti sunt. Posuerunt in cœlum os "suum," etc. Et alibi: "Dixi iniquis, nolite inique "agere; et delinquentibus, nolite exaltare cornu. "Nolite extollere in altum cornu vestrum. Nolite "loqui adversus Deum iniquitatem." Item Ysaias: "Dereliquerunt Dominum, blasphemaverunt sanctum "Israel, abalienati sunt retrorsum. Super quo per-"cutiam vos ultra habentes prævaricationem." Super hunc locum dicit Jeronymus, "Sæpe percutit Deus ut "corrigat. His qui incorrigibiles sunt dicit, 'Super "'quo, etc. Quia non invenio medicinam, quam sci-"'licet adhibeam vobis, omnia membra vulneribus "'plena sunt. Adhibui sæpius curationem; modo "'nullam partem corporis reperio, quæ non sit jam "'percussa et plagis plena. Unde nullas invenio pla-"'gas, quibus confringam duritiam vestram. Eo enim "'crescit nequitia quo majora adhibeo flagella.'" Et alia ejusdem expositio super eundem locum: "Quia "frustra percussi vos, disciplinam non recepistis. Zelus "meus recedit a vobis, non est firmamentum in plaga "eorum." Item et illud Jeremiæ, "Percussi eos et "non doluerunt." Et illud Jeronymi super hunc locum Amos, "Dedi vobis stuporem dentium[1] in cunctis "urbibus vestris et indigentiam panum in omnibus "locis vestris, et non estis reversi ad me, dicit Domi-

Divine reproofs of the wicked.

Ps. lxxii. 8, 9.

Ps. lxxiv. 5, 6.

Is. i. 4, 5.

Comm. in Isaiam, i. 1.

Jer. v. 3.

Amos, iv. 6.

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[1] *dentium*] gentiam, MS.

"nus." Glosa[1]: "Et cum hæc omnia non pro crude-
"litate, sed pro correctione vestra facerem, tamen
"non estis correcti. Juxta illud Jeremiæ: 'Frustra
Jer. ii. 30. "'percussi filios vestros, disciplinam non receperunt.'"

Cap. XXV.

De urbe Turonensi a Francis occupata, et rege Henrico in oppidulo de Azi concluso et, per ultionem et quasi fallaciam divinitus datam, tanquam ad deditionem compulso.[2]

Henry reaches "Frenellæ," and next day [13 June] goes to Anjou.

Cessante vero demum persequentium instantia per comitis Pictavensis casum, equo ejusdem militari lancea perfosso, rex nocte eadem se apud Frenellas[3] suscepit et mane Andegaviam inde transivit. Exerci- f. 160 b. tus autem adversus, Cenomannia subacta, statim Turoniam aggreditur, et nobilem urbem Turonis, tanquam in impetu furoris fortunam urgens et successibus instans, armatis illico viribus expugnavit.

Philip takes Tours.

A conference is fixed at Azai for Friday [30 June], but Henry is attacked by fever.

His itaque completis, sumpto inter reges colloquio non procul ab oppidulo Turoniæ, cui nomen Azai, feria sexta rex Anglorum, eodem quo convenire debuerant die apud Azai, letaliter acuta febri correptus accubuit. Francorum autem rex et comes Pictavensis huic infirmitati fidem non habentes, quinimmo fictum potius seu frustratorium, solito ejusdem de more, putantes, in crastino oppidum prædictum viribus immensis undique concluserunt. Quo facto, Anglorum rege procurante, qui pacis adhuc bona tentare volebat, cognatos suos archiepiscopum Remensem Willel-

[1] A paraphrase only of St. Jerome, Comm. in Amos, ii. 4 (Migne, xxv. 1028).

[2] This rubric is from the table of chapters, p. 224. It is omitted here, though a blank space was left for it.

[3] *Frenellas*] Dr. Stubbs (Hoveden, vol. ii. p. lxiii.) supposes this to be La Frenaye on the left bank of the Sarthe, on the road to Alençon. It is mentioned again by Giraldus in the *Vita Galfridi* (vol. iv. p. 369).

mum et comites Philippum Flandrensem et Theobaldum Blesensem cum aliis quibusdam ad ipsum intra castrum accersivit. Videns autem Francorum rex, quoniam hostem suum jam ei Deus et fortuna secunda in manus dederat, nullum pacis verbum, priusquam rex Anglorum se misericordiæ suæ in omnibus omnino supponeret, audire volebat. Ipse vero, salvo honore suo regnique corona et dignitate, se id facturum promisit. Rex autem Franciæ simpliciter illud et absolute facturum respondit, nec quicquam ei salvandum fore, nisi quod eidem ipse misericorditer salvari voluerit. Quod et demum post multas altercationes et internuntiorum commeationes, quia necessitas legem non habet, non absque gemitu interiore maximo et indignatione morbum aggravante, sic factum est.

He submits himself to Philip's mercy.

Ecce quam longanimis exspectator est Dominus, sed ultor tamen demum gravissimus! Exulante nimirum olim egregio Cantuariorum antistite Thoma, in cunctis fere quæ super concordia inter ipsum et Anglorum [regem] formanda [habita sunt] colloquiis, Christianissimo Francorum tunc rege Lodovico toties ad id operam dante, semper pacis commoda similiter contentio præpediebat. Volebat enim Anglorum rex Henricus quod in primis, ante verbum pacis omne, se archiepiscopus ex toto misericordiæ suæ subjiceret. Ipse vero Deo plenus et gratia perfusus, salvo honore Dei et ordinis sui dignitate, nec non et ecclesiæ libertate cui præerat, se id facturum, nec aliter, concedebat. Rex autem omnino determinationem obstinata malitia respuebat, publice protestans se nullum in archiepiscopi sermone sophisticum verbum ullatenus admissurum.

Evidence in this of divine vengeance for his treatment of Becket.

Attendat itaque lector diligens qualiter divina justitia homini, qui honorem Dei et ecclesiæ sanctæ salvum fore negabat, et suum eidem haud dissimiliter honorem f 161.
regiæque coronæ suæ in necessitatis articulo, tanquam argumento tali fallaciam aptans et talionem præstans, minime salvandum procuravit. Advertat hic etiam

lector quod, sicut rex iste male se regens patrem suum spiritualem, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, usque ad mortem temporalem persequi non cessavit, sic per exquisitam divinæ vindictæ justitiam ejusdem filii carnales patrem suum carnalem usque ad interitum temporalem, et utinam non æternalem, sunt persecuti.

Speech of Philip, when a child, at a conference between Henry and Louis VII. at Montmartre [18 Nov. 1169].

Notandum hic autem esse videtur, quod equidem valde notabile censui, quoniam in colloquio quodam sub monte Martyrum non procul ab urbe Parisiensi inter dictos Francorum et Anglorum reges habito, ubi rex Lodowicus more solito multum laboravit, quanquam inaniter, ad pacem formandam inter regem Henricum, qui tunc apud Sanctum Dionysium quasi sub prætextu peregrinationis advenerat, et archiepiscopum Thomam, qui et ibi tunc erat et ad hoc illuc vocatus fuerat, et demum pace non proveniente et rege Henrico revertente, Philippus Lodovici regis filius et hæres, tunc puer quasi septennis [1] existens, regem Henricum honoris causa simul cum patre conviando et deducendo, ipsum in hujuscemodi verba [con]venit: "Pro patre meo tibi, "rex, supplico, rogans quatinus ipsum plus solito "diligas, eique fidelis existens ab ejus de cætero "vexatione desistas. Pro certo namque noverint om- "nes, quod qui [2] ipsum in hac ætate sua senili mole- "stare præsumpserit, ultorem sibi gravissimum per "Dei gratiam, cum locus affuerit et tempus advenerit, "me constituet." Mira igitur in puero prudentia! mira quoque futuræ probitatis innatæ et animositatis indicia, et promissio facta quasi prophetico spiritu comminatoria! Quia præmissa, et tanquam sub talionis retributione promissa, paucis evolutis postmodum annis consecutivis, et in ætate tenella, mirandis quidem eventibus [3] contra tantæ potentiæ simul et opulentiæ principem magno cum effectu sunt completa.

Nota.

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[1] He was only four years old, having been born in Aug. 1165.

[2] *qui*] ipsi, MS.

[3] *eventibus*] euntibus, MS.

Item et hoc quoque notabile censui, qualiter spiritus pueri junioris ejusdem suscitatus iterum a Domino fuerit in hunc modum. In colloquio quodam inter dictos [1] reges prope Gisortium habito, ubi tunc præsens cum patre fuit Philippus Lodovici filius, quasi tunc temporis duodenus existens, cum plurimi Francorum castellum oppositum attentius intuentes pulchritudinem ejus et fortitudinem, nuper nimirum in immensum adaucti et Pariis egregie lapidibus aereisque turribus et arduis in altum exstructi, multa cum admiratione laudarent, dictus puer in audientia magna cunctis admirantibus ait, "Structuram lapidum illorum valde "commendatis." Et prosequendo, "per fidem," inquit, "quam debeo patri meo, vellem quod omnes lapides "illi argentei vel aurei vel etiam gemmæ pretiosissimæ "forent; dum tamen id nemo præter me solum vel "per me sciret, aut scire posset." Et cum universi super hoc pueri verbo non mediocriter admirarentur, subjunxit, "Nec inde miremini, quia, quanto melius "pretiique majoris oppidum illud existeret, tanto carius "idem, cum ad manus meas devolveretur, haberem." Sed ecce quanta fiducia principis tanti tamque potentis et tam opimi, contra spem omnium fere, puer hic opes et oppida sibi ad manus quandoque devolvenda, quasi mente præsaga et sub certa quadam præsumptione, sperabat.

Speech of Philip at a meeting between Henry and Louis near Gisors [1175?].

f. 161 b.

Nota.

Item et hoc adjiciendum hic decrevimus verbum ejusdem, sed jam regis et adulti, persimile priori. Cum enim in werra illa grandi, quæ inter ipsum et regem Angliæ Ricardum post obitum fuit utriusque patrum,[2] veniens ad castellum de Rupe [3] apud Andeleam, nuper egregie valde a rege Ricardo constructum visuque præclarum, Francis castellum intuentibus et collaudantibus, in audientia publica dixit et assertive

Speech of Philip on seeing Richard's castle at Andely.

[1] *dictos*] electos, MS.

[2] *patrum*] paterni, MS.

[3] Château Gaillard, built by Richard in 1197–8, and taken by Philip, 6 Mar. 1204.

quoque cum sacramento proposuit, quia vellet oppidum illud ex toto ferreum esse; pristinam ad hæc revera Normanniam domandi suoque dominio subjugandi, sicut et Aquitanniam totam, et sub spe quidem quasi certissima, fiduciam habens. Porro cum verbum istud

Richard's retort.

ad regem Ricardum postea delatum fuisset, ut erat arrogantiæ nimiæ et animositatis immensæ, in audientia suorum multa verbum hoc emittens, "Per gorgiam,"

Nota.

inquit, "Dei" (quoniam his et similibus sacramentis enormibus uti solet), "si castellum illud totum de "butiro foret, nedum ferreum vel lapideum, illud ab "ipso viribusque suis totis me valide defensurum[1] "absque dubio non diffiderem." Sed quoniam Dei auxilium huic verbo tam insolenti nec expetiit nec optavit, sed tanquam brachio suo viribusque suis solis totam ascribere defensionem temere præsumpsit, contra desiderium suum et elationis eloquium, paucis evolutis postmodum annis, rege Philippo prævalente et dictum municipium obtinente, res evenit.

A similar vaunt of William Rufus.

Ut autem exemplum casus haud[2] dissimilis hic ponamus, clausulam quandam de Itinerario nostro[3] sumptam interserere præter rem non putavimus. A Meneviæ vero rupibus sereno tempore montes Hyberniæ prospici possunt; mari Hybernico tantum uno contractorie transnavigabili die interjacente. Unde Willelmus, Willelmi regis bastardi filius et Normannorum in Anglia rex secundus, qui rex Ruffus est agnominatus, Kambriam suo in tempore animose penetrans et circumdans, cum a rupibus istis Hyberniam forte prospiceret, dixisse memoratur: "Ad terram "istam expugnandam ex navibus regni mei huc convocatis

f. 162. "pontem ad hæc[4] faciam." Quo verbo ad Murhacdum[5] Lageniæ tunc principem in Hyberniam forte translato, cum aliquamdiu propensius inde cogitasset, fertur respondisse: "Numquid tantæ comminationis verbo rex ille 'si Deo

[1] *defensurum*] decensurum, MS.

[2] *haud*] aut, MS.

[3] *Itin. Kamb.*, lib. ii., cap. 1 (vol. vi. p. 109), "Ab hinc autem "sereno," *etc.*

[4] *ad hæc*] adhuc, *Itin. Kamb.*

[5] *Murhacdum*] Murchardum, *Itin. Kamb.*

" 'placuerit' adjecit?" Audito vero quod nullam prorsus Dei mentionem in hoc suo rex sermone fecisset, tanquam prognostico gaudens certissimo, "Quoniam," inquit, "homo "iste de humana tantum confidit potentia, non divina, ejus "adventum non formido."

Testimony of Arab ambassadors from Spain to the future greatness of Philip.

Ad cumulum autem laudis et gloriæ fortunæque in posterum fœcundæ futuræ dicti Philippi regis Francorum illud accessit, quod ipsum in lucem emissum et jam natum, et adhuc in cunis educatum, reges remotioris Hispaniæ Sarraceni per nuntios suos, cum muneribus regiis et pretiosis exeniis in Franciam directos, visitatione simul et veneratione dignum duxere et cum eo fœdus[1] inire, tanquam terrarum suarum per se vel suorum aliquem expugnatore futuro, sicut per oracula vatum suorum jam didicerant, totis desideriis appetentes, et pacis commodum sibi suisque devote postulare nominaque sua regiis apud Sanctum Dionysium ascribi rotulis et memorialibus inseri notulis, suæ quidem a longe suorumque civitati pariter et indemnitati non improvide prospicientes, impetrare curarunt.

Expected subjection of the British isles to the French crown.

Ad vaticinium autem hoc veritate subnixum quandoque futurum evidens hinc indicium et argumentum elici potest non invalidum, quod occidentalia regna tria vel quatuor, quatinus hic anticipatio fiat, Anglia scilicet, Hybernia, Scotia et Wallia, cum opum affluentia et insularium classium copia magna, regiæque potestatis in immensum adaucta potentia, dicto regi et hæredibus suis, tanquam ad cultum Dei ampliandum, via præparata jam per Dei gratiam pronis cervicibus fore sperabantur obnoxia.

Vision of a monk of Vincennes before Philip's birth.

Item ad argumenta [quo]que futuræ majestatis immensæ facit et visio, quam vidit frater quidam de Vicenis, vir quidem simplex et rectus ac religiosus, parum ante ortum dicti regis Philippi. Videbat enim puerum in cunis ab alto dilapsum et in Franciam

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[1] *cum eo fœdus*] cum feduo, MS.

demissum, Francisque regni hæredem validum summo opere desiderantibus tanquam a Deo datum; qui subito statim in tantæ excellentiæ tamque proceræ staturæ majestatem cunctis admirantibus excrevit, quod duos principes excelsos, Alemanniæ scilicet imperatorem et Angliæ regem, ad latera ipsius, prout videbatur, constitutos, superpositis capitibus ipsorum palmis, adeo in terram opprimere deorsus visus est et deprimere, quod nihil ex ipsis, aut valde parum, tempore brevi visum est in terris comparere. Quam visionem quidem his nostris diebus satis aperte veritas subsecutiva comprobavit.

Nota.

Ominous speech made to the author at Paris on the night of Philip's birth.

Item et illud quod ei qui scripsit hæc accidit inter cætera quoque prognostica[1] prætereundum hic esse non putavi. Cum enim Parisius in juvenilibus annis liberalibus animi studiis vehementer applicaret, contigit in ipso temporis autumnalis initio, nocte quidem (f. 162 b.) et noctis hora quasi post conticinium et circa soporem primum, dictum Philippum materno ex utero per Dei gratiam natum. Quo rumore per urbem audito et cum gaudio suscepto, quale vel quantum lingua explicari non posset, statim campanarum omnium per urbis amplitudinem totam tantus undique sonus et clangor erupit, tantaque luminaria cerea fuerant per plateas omnes accensa, quod sonitus tanti tantique tumultus insoliti, necnon et nocturni luminis tam immensi, causam ignorantes urbis incendium tunc imminere putabant. Unde et auctor operis hujus, adolescens in urbe existens et quasi vicesimum[2] ætatis suæ tunc annum adimplens, a stratu quo recubans somnum carpere jam cœperat experrectus ad fenestram illico prosiliit; prospiciensque vidit in platea vetulas duas admodum pauperculas, manibus tamen faces cereas præferentes et tam vultu quam vocibus totoque gestu

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[1] *prognostica*] pro nostra, MS.

[2] *vicesimum*] As 1165 was the year of Philip's birth, Giraldus, according to this, was born in or about 1145 (see vol. i. p. x).

corporis exultantes passibusque properis, tanquam sibi invicem obviando et confligendo, cursitantes. Cumque causam tantæ commotionis et exultationis ab eis inquisisset, earum una respiciens statim et respondens, "Regem," inquit, "habemus nobis a Deo nunc datum "et regni hæredem Deo donante pervalidum, per quem "regi vestro dedecus et damnum, pœna pudorque "gravis, confusione pariter et ærumna plenus, ac- "crescet." Ac si aperte dixerit, "Puer est nobis hac "nocte natus, qui certe regis vestri divino favore "malleus erit, quique suam suorumque potestatem et "pascua proculdubio decurtabit." Sciebat enim mulier ipsum sociosque suos de Angliæ regno oriundos esse, ideoque verbum hoc, quasi prophetico spiritu prolatum nimia nempe postmodum veritate complendum, acriter in ipsos eorumque regem anus emisit.

Item facit ad hæc etiam evidentissime, quod in regis ejusdem regnantis initio, patre felicissimo jam rebus humanis exempto, et ipso adolescentulo adhuc existente tenello, cum exercitu[m] Franciæ apud urbem Ambianensem in comitem Flandriæ Philippum coadunasset, qui Viromanniæ comitatum, comitissa et hærede comitis sponsa absque liberis et hærede defuncta, detinere præsumpsit,[1] consertis viribus et ad congrediendum hostiliter jam paratis, barones Franciæ, scientes, juxta Comici sententiam, omnia priusquam arma sapienti tentanda, de pace tractatum habendum communiter censuerunt. Erant quippe quam plurimi vel prece[2] vel pretio vel dilectione seu cognatione comitis parti, qui vir erat virium magnarum grandisque potentiæ, nimis fautores existentes. Cum igitur super hoc tractando magnates jam consedissent, rege seorsum interim parumper amoto, sedebat ipse virgam de corulo viridi manu tenens eamque dentibus[3] rodens, et acriter

Another anecdote of Philip's youth.

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[1] See above, p. 229.

[2] *prece*] precem, MS.

[3] *dentibus*] dicentibus, MS.

undique circumspiciens. Quod cum barones conspexis-
f. 163. sent statumque juvenis illius et gestum in hoc articulo cum admiratione notassent, dixit unus eorum quod equum bonum illi daret, qui cogitatum principis ei revelaret. Quod audiens lecator quidam statim exiliens ad regem accessit rogans et petens, quatinus mentis suæ conceptum aperiendo equum sub tali tenore promissum sibi tanquam ex dono suo datum conferret. Rex autem illi, quem non ignotum habebat, illico mentis arcana sic aperuit: "Volvebam hoc," inquit, "animo, utrum ullo unquam tempore mihi, vel alii "Francorum regi, Deus hanc gratiam dare dignetur, "quod Franciæ regnum in statum pristinum eamque "celsitudinem et amplitudinem quam tempore Karoli "quondam habuerat reformare queat." Quo verbo regis baronibus relato, et protinus equo juxta promissionem dato, statim in hæc verba communiter omnes proruperunt: "Pereat ergo, qui tali principi et tam "magnanimo ad revocanda regni jura impedimentum "opponit. His aut aliis[1] unquam juribus Deo opitu- "lante defecerit!" Et sic nobilis ille Viromanniæ comitatus cum opibus et oppidis cunctis, humiliato detentore[2] tanto, regi Philippo tunc juvenculo citra bellicum conflictum omnem fuit absque difficultate et dilatione resignatus.

Terms of peace now formulated by Philip, [July, 1189].

His igitur et præscriptis sub hoc tenore completis, de pace tractatum habentes, ad nutum Francorum regis comitisque Pictavensis honorem[3] per omnia, ad dedecus autem Anglorum regis et detrimentum, pacem formaverunt, formamque ejusdem scripto comprehensam Anglorum regi legendam et audiendam obtulerunt. Erat autem primum capitulum de misericordia, cui se supposuit; secundum vero, quod omnes, qui comiti Pictavensi contra patrem adhæserant, de tenementis

[1] *His aut aliis*] His autem aliis, MS.; Nunquam his aut aliis juribus, ed. Brewer.

[2] *detentore*] decentorie, MS.

[3] *honorem*] honore, MS.

suis omnibus et ligancia filio solum intenderent et non patri, nisi ultronea voluntate ad ipsum forte redire voluerint. Et cum nomina[1] illorum scripta in cedula legi audiret, primumque omnium Johannis filii sui nomen legeretur, tanquam extra se factus et consternatus, stratu quo recubabat statim in sessionem exsurgens et acriter circumspiciens, "Verumne est," inquit, "quod Johannes, cor meum, quem præ filiis omnibus "magis dilexi cujusque promotionis causa hæc omnia "mala sustinui, a me discessit?" Compertoque pro certo quia sic erat, iterum se lecto reclinans[2] faciemque suam ad parietem vertens et altius ingemiscens, "Va-"dant," inquit, "de cætero cuncta sicut poterunt; "ego de me amplius nihil neque de mundo quicquam "curo." Sicut autem qui præsentes exstiterant verbis assertivis testimonium perhibuere, nihil adeo morbi malitiam aut vehementiam exasperavit, nihil mortem ipsius, sicut dolor iste subitus et inopinatus, acceleravit.

Despair of Henry at finding his son John's name in the list of Richard's adherents.

Cap. XXVI.

De pictis et fictis, et demum ignominiosa regis Henrici morte secuta.

Contigerat aliquando cameram Wintoniensem variis picturarum figuris et coloribus venustatam, locum quendam in ea vacuum regio mandato relictum, ubi postmodum aquilam depingi jussit et quatuor aquilæ pullos ei insidentes, duos alis duabus et tertium renibus, parentem[3] unguibus et rostris perfodientes, quartum nec minorem aliis in collo residentem et paternis acrius oculis effodiendis insidiantem. Requisitus autem a familiaribus suis quidnam hæc pictura portenderet, "Quatuor," inquit, "aquilæ pulli quatuor filii mei

Picture at Winchester emblematical of Henry and his sons. f. 163 *b*.

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[1] *nomina*] omnia, MS.
[2] *reclinans*] rediens, MS.
[3] *parentem*] patentem, MS.

"sunt, qui me usque ad mortem persequi non cessa-"bunt. Quorum minor natu, quem tanta dilectione "nunc amplector, mihi denique longe gravius aliis "omnibus et periculosius nonnunquam insultabit." Sic igitur primo interius futuras per prolem ærumnas mente præsaga malorum sibi depinxit, deinde exterius mentis conceptum protrahens artificio depingi fecit. Hic mihi notandum videtur illud Michææ prophetæ, "Nolite credere amico, et nolite confidere in duce; "ab ea quæ[1] dormit in sinu tuo custodi claustra "oris tui. Quia filius contumeliam facit patri, filia "consurgit adversus matrem suam, nurus contra so-"crum suam. Inimici hominis domestici ejus." Naturam vero Johannis et proprietatem si quis scire desiderat, supra, ubi de Britone et Hybernico mixtim agitur, requiratur.[2]

Nota.

Micah, vii. 5, 6.

Henry gives Richard the kiss of peace, but whispers vengeance.

Ad hæc etiam comprehensum fuerat in concordia, quod filium suum comitem Pictavensem in osculo recipere eique iram omnem et indignationem ex corde remittere debuisset. Quo facto,[3] fictoque magis quam facto, et osculo dato, hoc comes in discessu verbum a patre, quanquam demissa voce prolatum, audivit: "Nunquam me Dominus mori permittat, "donec dignam mihi de te vindictam accepero!" Et sic a castro comes exiens, modumque concordiæ inter ipsum et patrem referens ac verba sequentia, grandem Francorum regi et curiæ toti risum pariter et admirationem excitavit.

He is carried to Chinon and dies there [6 July].

His igitur in hunc modum exactis, ad Chinonense castrum se rex deferri fecit; ubi invalescente valetudine feria quinta, et a qua decubuit septima, die videlicet quem physici criticum vocant, letaliter correptus, hæc ingeminando immo multiplicando verba, quæ de reliquiis cogitationum vehementia tam morbi quam doloris pariter et indignationis extorsit, quoniam ex

[1] *quæ*] qui, MS.
[2] See above, p. 177.
[3] *facto*] dicto, MS.; with "vel "facto" interlined.

abundantia cordis os loqui solet, "Proh pudor de rege "victo! proh pudor!" in extremis laboravit. Et sic demum inter ærumnosas hujusmodi voces, propriæ præco confusionis, exspiravit, obrutusque magis et oppressus quam naturali morte finitus occubuit. Ex quo patet quod, quanto [quis] secundis altius elevatur, tanto impetuosius ad imum[1] demittitur; quantoque arcus magis retro curvatur, tanto sagitta fortius in anteriora propellitur. Unde in libro Regum invenies et a Domino dictum: "Quicunque glorificaverit 1 Sam. ii. 30.
"me, glorificabo eum. Qui autem contemnent me, "erunt ignobiles." Item et Ecclesiastico: "Facienti Eccl. xxvii. 30, 32.
"nequissimum consilium, super illum devolvetur, et "non agnoscet unde veniet illi." Et paulo post: f. 164.
"Laqueo peribunt, [qui] oblectantur casu justorum; "dolor autem consumet illos, antequam moriantur." Notandum hoc autem, quod, quanquam ultione divina in patris perniciem ita filii desævirent, tamen eodem ultore, qui nec bonum irremuneratum nec malum relinquit impunitum, prava postmodum eorundem voluntas est punita. Juxta illud: "Et reddet illis hære- Ps. xciii. 23.
"ditatem ipsorum, in malitia eorum disperdet eos, "disperdet illos Dominus Deus noster." Divina namque voluntas per malas interdum hominum voluntates impletur. Quia, sicut aliquando bona voluntate aliud vult homo quam Deus, sic et mala nonnunquam idem quod Deus. Nonne igitur quasi de eo scriptum in Psalmo videtur: "Minorasti dies temporis ejus; per- Ps. lxxxviii. 46.
"fudisti eum confusione." Et alibi: "Viri sanguinum Ps. liv. 24.
"et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos." Et illud: "Noli æmulari in malignantibus, neque zelaveris Ps. xxxvi. 1, 2.
"facientes iniquitatem. Quoniam tanquam fœnum "velociter arescent, et quemadmodum olera herbarum "cito decident." Et illud: "Vidi impium superexal- Ps. xxxvi. 35, 36.
"tatum et elevatum sicut cedros Libani. Et tran-

[1] *imum*] ictum, MS.

"sivi, et ecce non erat, et non est inventus locus

Ps. cxxxix. 12. "ejus." Et illud: "Virum injustum[1] mala capient

Jer. xvii. 11. "in interitu." Item et illud Jeremiæ: "Clamavit perdix, congregavit, et fovit[2] quod non peperit; fecit divitias, et non cum judicio. In dimidio dierum ejus derelinquent eam et in novissimis suis erit insipiens." Unde Gregorius in Moralibus[3]: "Ordinans nos Deus juxta merita singulorum disposuit et terminum. Ut vel malus breviter vivat, ne pluribus noceat, vel bonus diutius vivat, ut pluribus prosit; vel rursus malus diutius, ut mala augeat quibus boni probentur, vel bonus citius subtrahatur, ne, si diutius vivat, malitia corrumpat. Et mutatur sententia Dei, sed non consilium æternum."

Cap. XXVII.

De origine[4] tam regis Henrici quam Alienoræ reginæ et radice filiorum omni ex parte vitiosa.

Henry's offspring of a vicious stock on both sides.

Ut autem tam patris quam filiorum exitus infaustos minus de cætero lector obstupeat, de origine ipsorum et propagine quædam et hic apponere dignum duximus. Pater itaque reginæ Alienoræ comes Pictavensis,[5] qui uxorem vicecomitis de Castello Haroldi, hominis sui, quæ Mauberium dicta fuit, vi rapuit et abduxit et de facto sibi in conjugem duxit. Vir

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1 *injustum*] justum, MS.

2 *Clamavit . . . fovit*] Perdix fovit, in the Vulgate; and the quotation is otherwise not literally exact.

3 The reference is to the *Moralia*, xvi. 10 (Migne, lxxv. col. 1127), but the passage is rather paraphrased than quoted.

4 *origine*] so in table of chapters (p. 224). The MS. here reads "regione."

5 This was not Eleanor's father, but her grandfather, William IX. (VII.), duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou. See the account of the scandal in Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, v. § 439 (ed. Stubbs, ii. p. 510), and the plea of Hildegardis, his discarded wife, at the council of Reims in 1119, in Orderic, xii. 21 (ed. Le Prevost, iv. p. 378). The name of the Vicomte de Châtelherault's wife is there given as Maubergeon.

autem bonus et sanctus heremita quidam, missus, ut credebatur, a Domino, accedens statim ad ipsum prohibuit ex parte Dei, se nuntium ad hoc a Deo missum esse protestans, ne uxorem alterius, hominisque sui præcipue, duceret vel desponsaret, matrimonium hoc non fore, sed manifestum et detestandum adulterium, dicens. Ille vero in errore persistens respondit quod Dei nuntium illum esse nec credebat, nec ei constabat. Cui vir bonus ille: "Si nuntius Dei sum," inquit, "et mihi fidem non habueris, nunquam proles "de vobis et ipsa suscipienda, vel propaginaliter inde "proventura, felices fructus facere possit!" Istud Hugo bonæ et sanctæ memoriæ Lincolniæ episcopus referre solebat, auctorem laudans regem Henricum secundum, qui hoc ei, cum a filiis infestaretur, referre consuevit.

Qualiter autem Alienor, regina Franciæ, primo tam in transmarinis Palestinæ partibus se habuerit; qualiter etiam postea reversa tam erga primum maritum quam etiam secundum se postea gesserit; et de filiis ejus, de quibus in flore tanta spes fuerat, quomodo citra fructum ejus emarcuerunt, satis est notum. f. 164 *b.* Conduct of queen Eleanor.

De filiabus[1] quoque, Sicula scilicet et Saxonica, quarum alteram sine liberis, alteram sine lætitia, illam sine fructu, istam non absque luctu, constat finaliter decessisse. Cæterorum autem, ne per singula curramus, quod aliquos forsan offendere posset, tam de Hispanica prosapia quam Germanica, necnon et tam Armorica Britannia quam Gigantea,[2] residuos fructus et fines sequens poterit ætas explicare. Poterit tamen de Hispanica ex felici copulæ maritalis adjuncto aliquid forsan boni proventurum, Deo propitiante, sperari. Her daughters by Henry.

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[1] See above, p. 159. Joan, queen of Sicily, had a son, but he died young. She also bore a son to her second husband, Raymond, count of Toulouse.

[2] *Gigantea*] so MS., perhaps corruptly. It apparently alludes to the offspring of John, the words "Armorica Britannia" pointing to his brother Geoffrey.

Her daughters by Louis.

Ad hoc quoque, qualiter dictæ reginæ filia utraque de Lodovico Francorum rege suscepta, una[1] comiti Campaniæ Henrico, altera[2] fratri ejusdem comiti Blesensi Theobaldo legitime copulata, tam in Palestinis quam Græcorum finibus fructum amisit, nimis est notum.

Henry's race vitiated by the bigamy of his mother.

Ad hæc etiam, ut ostendatur qualiter ex regis Henrici parte radix quoque propaginis vitiata fuerit, sciendum quod imperator Henricus, cui nupserat filia regis Henrici primi et mater secundi, nomine Matildis, quique propter ambitum terrenum primo patrem suum carnalem captum in vinculis tenuit et postea spiritualem, papam scilicet Paschalem, imperium sponte reliquit et, in ultimis occidentalis Britanniæ versus Cestriam finibus heremum petens, ibi[3] usque ad obitum suum sancte et religiose pœnitentiam egit. Imperatricem vero reversam comes Andegaviæ Gaufredus patre tradente, sed marito vivente, nuptam suscepit, filiosque ex ea genuit, quorum duo[4] jam in spica et spe magna, subito tamen et sine fructu, emarcuerunt et evanuerunt, tertius autem, ut dictum est, cœpit altius quam finivit.

Scandalous union of Henry and Eleanor.

Item comes Andegaviæ Gaufredus regina Alienora, quando senescallus Franciæ fuit, abusus fuerat; super quo et filium suum Henricum pluries, ut dicitur, præmunivit, monens et prohibens[5] modis omnibus ne tangeret illam, tum quia domini sui sponsa, tum etiam quoniam a patre suo fuit ante cognita. Ad cumulum igitur excessuum nimis enormium sic dictam Franciæ reginam rex Henricus adulterino concubitu, sicut fama dispersit, polluere præsumpsit, dominoque

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[1] *una*] Mary, wife of Henry, count of Champagne (*ob.* 1181). Her eldest son, Henry, elected king of Jerusalem in 1192, was killed by a fall from a window at Acre in 1197.

[2] *altera*] Aaliz, wife of Theobald, count of Blois (*ob.* 1191). Her son Louis fell at the battle of Adrianople in 1205.

[3] *ibi*] ibique, MS.

[4] *duo*] Geoffrey and William. See above, p. 156.

[5] *prohibens*] prohibet, MS.

suo sic ipsam subtraxit sibique maritaliter eandem de facto copulavit. Qualiter, quæso, ex copula tali felix potuit prosapia nasci ?

Præterea, qualiter dictus Andegaviæ comes Gaufredus in sanctum Gerardum Sagiensem episcopum eunucando desævit [et] in christum Domini cruentas manus injecit, qualiter etiam rex Henricus, a paterno scelere non degenerans, in beatum martyrem Thomam insanire præsumpsit, ad perpetuam generis totius ignominiam utraque nimis est historia nota. Treatment of Gerard, bishop of Seez, by count Geoffrey, and of St. Thomas by Henry.

Item, comitissa quædam Andegaviæ, formæ conspicuæ sed nationis ignotæ et a comite ob solam corporis elegantiam ductæ, ad ecclesiam raro veniebat, et tunc in ea parum vel nihil devotionis ostendebat, nunquam autem usque ad canonem Missæ secretum in ecclesia remanebat, sed cito post Evangelium semper exire solebat. Tandem tamen tam a comite quam ab aliis hoc cum admiratione notato, cum ad ecclesiam illa venisset et hora solita exire pararet, videns a quatuor militibus præcepto comitis se retineri, rejecto statim pallio per quod tenebatur, et duobus filiis suis parvis, quos sub dextro pallii panno secum habebat, ibi relictis cum cæteris filiis duobus, qui stabant a sinistra, sub brachio arreptis, per fenestram ecclesiæ sublimem, cunctis intuentibus, evolavit. Et sic mulier illa, facie pulchrior quam fide, cum prole gemina secum assumpta nunquam ibi postea comparuit[1] Istud autem rex Ricardus sæpe referre solebat, dicens non esse mirandum, si de genere tali et filii parentes et sese ad invicem fratres infestare non cessent; de diabolo namque eos omnes venisse et ad diabolum dicebat ituros esse. Cum igitur ex omni parte radix fuerit tam The demon-countess of Anjou. f. 165. Nota bene. Richard's jest on the subject.

[1] For this strange legend see also Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (ed. Liebrecht, 1856, p. 26). He localizes it at the castle of the Sparrowhawk "in regni Arelatensis finibus," within the diocese of Valence, but does not connect it with the Angevin family. It figures also in the Romance of Mélusine, but the lady's husband is there a Lusignan (ed. Brunet, 1854, p. 357).

vitiosa, qualiter hinc propago vel fructuosa pervenire posset vel virtuosa?

Speech of Geoffrey, count of Brittany, to Godfrey de Lucy.

Ad hæc etiam cum in werra quadam grandi, quam rex Francorum Lodovicus regi Angliæ Henrico moverat,[1] missus a rege Henrico fuisset ad comitem Armoricæ Britanniæ Gaufredum[2] clericus quidam facundus et facetus, cujus nuncupatio Godefridus de Lucy, qui et postmodum in Wintoniensem episcopum est promotus, eique verba quæ sibi filio dicenda pater injunxerat fideliter proposuisset, totisque viribus[3] ut revocaret ad patrem filium, qui[4] regi Francorum in dicta werra firmiter adhæserat, verbis suasoriis sed non persuasoriis intendisset, tandem dictus comes, qui vir erat prudens et eloquens valde, torvum, ut videbatur, ei vultum prætendens et verba minantia, "Miror," inquit, "quæ "temeritas, quæ te præceps et inconsulta voluntas in "terram ac potestatem meam ad me tam pertinaciter "exhæredandum huc advexit." Dictus autem clericus verens ad hæc verba plurimum et verecundus existens, cum respondisset et assertive cum sacramento proposuisset se propter honorem ipsius tantum, et non propter dedecus aut damnum, illuc advenisse, comes demum, tanquam ænigma dicti sermonis exponens, ait: "Numquid ignoras hoc nobis naturaliter proprium et "quasi jure hæreditario ab avis et atavis insitum et "insertum, ut nullus ex nobis alterum diligat, sed ut "semper frater fratrem, filius patrem, et e diverso, "totis nisibus infestare contendat? Noli ergo hoc "jure nostro hæreditario nos privare, nec frustra ut "naturam expellas elaborare."

Henry's sons the instruments of divine vengeance.

Unde, qualiter Normannici tyranni nec naturaliter nec legitime, sed quasi per hysteron proteron, in insula occupata regnaverunt, propter quod et pauci eorum vel

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1 *moverat*] mori erat, MS.

2 *Gaufredum*] Gaufredus, MS.

3 *viribus*] visibus, MS.; nisibus, ed. Brewer.

4 *qui*] que, MS.

nulli fine laudabili decesserunt; qualiter tam regis Henrici primi quam etiam secundi fratres non dimidiantes dies suos miserabiliter interierunt; qualiter etiam regis Henrici secundi filii, in patrem unanimiter f. 165 *b.* insurgentes ipsumque, sicut jam dictum est, usque ad mortem persequentes, vindictam divinitus inflictam cito sublati de medio non evaserunt—quia, licet eorum actio forte Deo placuerit, qui ipsis utebatur ultionis suæ tanquam instrumentis, privata[1] absque dubio modis omnibus intentio displicuit, quam etiam similiter suo in tempore ultio divina punivit—qualiter, inquam, hæc singula provenerunt et quem exitum finalem sortita fuerunt, per Angliam et Franciam satis est notum. Quapropter et illud Porphirii verbum[2], quod Gildas in historia sua recolit, hic apponere dignum duximus. Ait enim Porphirius, orientalis historicus, "Britannia "est occidentalis insula, fœcunda tyrannorum patria." Unde Boetius: "Omnes insularum reges tyranni." Item et poeta:

"Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni Hor., Ep. I. ii. 58.
"Majus tormentum."

Verumtamen, quoniam generali plerumque per speciale Nota. derogari solet, nec alienum est extra regulam interdum quid inveniri, per Francorum dominatum, si nostris fuisset diebus in Anglia divinitus datum, sicut fuerat a multis desideratum, qui quasi naturali propagine reges esse consueverant et non tyranni, pristina de cætero tyrannis in insula, Deo propitiante, cessare valeret.

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[1] *privata*] priuatum, MS.

[2] See above, p. 76.

Cap. XXVIII.

De notabilibus quibusdam eventibus tanti principis mortem præcurrentibus.

Circumstances connected with Henry's death.

Ea igitur, quæ circa tanti viri occasum notabilia cunctisque majoribus in exemplum terribile trahenda nobis occurrunt, primum explicabimus; deinde ad signa mortis ejusdem prænuntia, visiones quoque varias et revelationes accedemus. In primis itaque notandum occurrit quod, cum anno fere toto duos archiepiscopos vel tres, episcopos autem quinque vel sex, curiæ sequaces habuit, nullum in fine pontificale consilium, nullum alicujus authenticæ personæ solatium, habere potuit. Quippe ecclesiam Dei et ministros ejus, in sortem Christi electos, qui venerari solent, solatio in extremis sacerdotali digna veneratione fulciuntur[1]; qui vero talia non agunt, sed perniciosos potius ecclesiæ filios se constituunt, talibus in fine carere plerumque videmus. Corpus autem in area cum exponeretur, adeo rapacitati omnes, ut in illo fieri solent articulo, communiter indulserunt, ut corpus nudum absque amictu quolibet aliquamdiu relinqueretur; donec puer quidam accurrens pallio suo modico ac tenui de pilo[2] contexto, quali solent æstivo tempore juvenes uti, vix genua velante, corporis quoad potuit nuda contexit. Tunc completum fuit agnomen ejusdem, sicut de agnominibus sæpe videri solet, quod ei nondum regi, sed duci tantum, juvenilibus annis datum fuerat. Quoniam enimvero curta[3] primum pallia de Andegavia in Anglia, quæ longis et demissis ad terram palliis ab avi sui Henrici primi tempore uti consueverat, iste portavit, Henricus ob hoc *Cum curto mantello* f. 166. vulgo vocatus erat.

No bishop with him.

His corpse exposed naked.

Fulfilment of his surname "Court "mantel."

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[1] *fulciuntur*] infundantur, MS.; with "fulciuntur" in the margin.

[2] *pilo*] filo, ed. Brewer.

[3] *curta*] eruta, MS.

Ad hæc etiam, cum a[1] Chinone ad Fontem Ebrardi corpus ejus efferri debuisset, vix qui corpus sindone consuerent, vix qui ad feretrum equos vel invenirent vel aptarent, vix qui debitis obsequiis et exsequiis funus prosequerentur, inventi sunt. In ecclesiam autem monialium majorem corpore jam delato, fama fines pernicibus alis transvolando comitem Pictaviæ ad paternas exsequias ocius advexit. Qui cum ecclesiam intraret et ad corpus accederet, patris facies in ejus adventu, sudario quo cooperta fuerat nudata, comparuit. Quæ tanquam colorata et solita feritate non exuta cum omnibus appareret, comes ea inspecta non absque fremitu carnis et horrore, naturalique forte dolore, coram altari genua ponens, in oratione modicum et tanquam Orationis Dominicæ per spatium vix remansit. Sed statim ut ecclesiam intraverat, sicut perhibent qui præsentes fuerunt et viderunt, regis utraque naris sanguine cœpit manare et, quamdiu filius in ecclesia fuerat, non cessavit; adeo ut assidentes et funeri obsequentes os et faciem sudario detergere ac purgare vix valuissent. Cujus autem rei signum sive portentum hoc esse potuerit, quoniam expressa vocent, diligens per se lector advertat, theoricamque a physicis rationem, quo talia contingant impetu, subtili indagatione exquirat.

His corpse is taken to Fontevraud.

Richard enters the church, and the corpse bleeds at the nostrils.

In crastino vero, cum ante altare principale corpus sepulturæ traditur, vix annulus digito, vix sceptrum manu, vix capiti corona, sicut decuit, quia de aurifrigio quodam veteri inventa fuit, vix ulla prorsus insignia regalia nisi per emendicata demum suffragia, eaque minus congruentia, suppetiere. Et quoniam infelicissimum[2] infortunii genus est fuisse felicem, hoc etiam ei ad cumulum adversitatis accessit, quod inter thesauros multos, tam Anglicanos quam transmarinos, longe tunc plus solito plenos, egenus occubuit; qui et

Burial of Henry, [8 July].

[1] *cum a*] cum ab a, MS.

[2] *infelicissimum*] infidelissimum, MS.

turrium alta et subterraneorum ima cum regnis amplissimis thesaurizans, et ignorans cui congregavit[1] ea, homini quem magis in terris exosum habebat auro et argento referta reliquit. Et sic, quasi vindicta divinitus exquisita, malleo suo et mortis auctore sibi in universa succedente,[2] inter ipsas copias, tanquam Tantalus alter, egestatis incommoda non evasit. Inter omnes quippe miserias nihil miserius esse potest quam in affluentia inopem esse et ipsa quidem egestatis mala in ubertate sentire. Unde poeta:—

Ov., Met. iii. 135–7.

" Ultima semper
" Exspectanda dies hominis, dicique beatus
" Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet," etc.

Is interred in the convent, where he wished to force Eleanor to take the veil.

Hoc etiam inter cætera notandum videtur quod, ubi reginam Alienor sub habitu moniali includere tanto desiderio tantisque nisibus affectaverat, ibi, vice versa et quasi ultione divinitus data, in loco obscuro tantæque majestati longe indebito, ea diu postea superstite manente, terra claudendus extrema concludi meruit et consumi. Sicut aperte visio prædicta declaravit, "Unus "hic finis"; et paulo post, "Velabitur cum velatis."

f. 166 b.

A meteor is seen in England.

Circa dimidium ante[3] ruinam ejus annum sexta feria ante Natale nocte, noctis hora post conticinium, et quasi circiter primum somnum, apparuit in Anglia cometa, quæ solet tam obitus principum quam ortus esse prænuntia, longe inferior non solum communibus stellis, sed etiam planetis, in hoc aere nebuloso, quasi sub ignei globi specie, prætervolando tamen sonitu quodam quasi tonitrui, longiore tamen et æqualiore, splendorem quasi fulguris emittens, sed majorem et continuato jubare plus durantem.

Portents before his death.

Circiter octo dies ante obitum ejus contigit in Normanniæ partibus non procul a Sagio, sed quasi per miliaria quinque, castro videlicet Oximensi,[4] quod in

[1] *congregavit*] congregabit, MS.
[2] *succedente*] succendente, MS.
[3] *ante*] autem, MS.
[4] *Oximensi*] Exmes, ten miles north of Séez.

scamno[1] quodam pisces omnes quibus abundabat tanto conflictu tam in aqua ipsa quam extra prosilientes nocte quadam congrederentur, ut vicinorum hominum multitudinem ipso collisionis[2] strepitu ad spectaculum evocarent. Tanto tempore tamque letali certamine congressi sunt, ut in toto vivario vix uni mane vita superstes inveniretur, miro et inaudito prognostico multorum morte mortem unius præsagientes. Contigit etiam in Wallia provincia, videlicet de Eleuan,[3] quam solum ab Haia flumen Vagense disterminat, duo stagna non modica nocte quam Anglorum rex Henricus primus duxit extremam a claustris alteri a natura et alteri humano labore collatis subito erupisse; artificiali longius per devexa dilapso cursuque præcipiti demum, ut mos est, evacuato; naturali vero ultra duo passuum millia in valle quadam cum passibus prioribus et accidentibus, non absque multorum admiratione, perpetua stabilitate statim sortito et iterum in stagnum converso. In urbe Senonensi ea tempestate qua Thomas Cantuariorum antistes in Francia exulare compulsus fuerat, nocte quadam post matutinas cum in ecclesia Sanctæ Columbæ coram altari prostratus in orationibus diu jacuisset et de Anglorum rege Henrico secundo ejusdemque filiis et eorum exitu inter orandum forte cogitasset, audivit hunc versum metricum demissa voce prolatum :

Prophetic voice heard by St. Thomas.

"Mors capit una duos, capit sed mala patrem."[4]

Nota.

Fictum tamen primo fuerat hoc de Hely sacerdote et filiis suis, et post revelatum martyri nostro de rege Henrico et filiis ejus eisdem verbis. Ambo namque fratres, Henricus scilicet et Gaufredus, sicut et eorum postea pater, febre acuta exstincti sunt.

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[1] *scamno*] Perhaps this should be "stanno" for "stagno"; but Ducange, *s.v.* scamnum, gives as one meaning "vadum."

[2] *collisionis*] collusionis, MS.

[3] *Eleuan*] The cantrev of Elvael, separated from Hay, in Brecknock, by the Wye (flumen Vagense). See vol. vi. p. 244.

[4] *capit sed mala*] For metre's sake we should perhaps read "capit autem mors mala."

Vision of a monk.

Item cum monachus quidam, in stratu suo recubans, de filiis regis Henrici, militibus scilicet tam egregiis tribus et quarto similiter natu minore, quod non erat princeps in terris qui tali genitura gauderet, et quem exitum habituri forent, plurimum cogitaret, et sic demum obdormiret, videbatur ei quod in ripa fluminis cujusdam videret quatuor aves sedentes, anatum scilicet masculos,[1] qui vulgo mallardi dici solent. Et cum essent aves illæ pro sua natura pulcherrimæ, dixit ei
f. 167. vox quædam: "Videsne volucres istas? Filii sunt " regis Henrici, de quibus cogitasti.[2] Et vis ergo " exitum illorum videre? Suspice parumper." Quod cum faceret, vidit avem quæ falco dicitur desuper in aere pernicibus[3] alis volantem, et statim aves illæ quatuor, una post alteram, se subito in aquam fluvii quasi præ timore avis illius submergentes, postea non comparuerunt. Et continuo vox subjunxit: "Vis scire " quæ sit avis illa supervolans. Filius utique est " regis Franciæ Philippus." De tribus autem primis et primævis jam nostris vidimus diebus, quod repentinis et intempestivis casibus revera rebus humanis exempti et quasi fluctibus sæculi submersi sunt, Philippo [rege] Francorum, sive causa mortis eorum fuerit sive non, adhuc superstite et potestative regnante. Quartum autem filiorum regis Henrici adhuc superstitem ad tranquillam populi pacem et ecclesiasticam libertatem conservet Deus in tempora longa.

Fulfilled by the untimely end of Henry's three eldest sons.

The fate of the fourth the same.

Vide, lector,[4] qualiter juxta tempus quo scripta sunt hæc locutus est auctor; tempore vero publicatæ postmodum editionis, more trium præcedentium, quartus, rege Philippo in Francia regnante et hoc per filium primævum, ut credebatur, procurante, exinaniri jam cœperat et evanescere.

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[1] *masculos*] masculi, MS.
[2] *cogitasti*] cogitastis, MS.
[3] *pernicibus*] pernibus, MS.
[4] *Vide, lector*, etc.] This sentence, referring to John, is evidently an addition to the original work, though it is embodied in the text of this MS.

Item cum vir quidam religiosus de fratribus eisdem et militibus eorumque patre tam diu in terris et tam prospere regnante et similiter diu cogitasset et sic obdormisset, videbatur ei vir quidam assistere, qui et dicebat illi, "Dic psalmum istum, 'Si vere utique.'" Quem cum diceret usque ad versus istos tres, dictos cum aliis, "Deus conteret dentes eorum in ore ipsorum; "ad nihilum devenient tanquam aqua decurrens; sicut "cera quæ fluit, auferentur," etc., statim disparuit ille. Quibus et hic versus tanquam ex sensu contrario non incompetenter adjungi potuit et adaptari: "Justi autem "hæreditabunt terram, et inhabitabunt in sæculum "sæculi super eam."

Another vision.

Ps. lvii.

Ps. xxxvi. 29.

Cum in curiam Lodovici Francorum regis Henricus secundus puer adductus fuisset et præsens abbas Clarevallensis bonæ memoriæ Bernardus tunc forte fuisset, quæsivit rex quid abbati de puero, quem tanta terrarum et regnorum amplitudo hæredem exspectabat, videretur. Vir sanctus in puerum intendens, oculorum aciem in terram inde flexo lumine tunc forte figentem, spiritu quasi prophetico respondit, "De diabolo venit, "et ad diabolum ibit"; notans tam patris tyrannidem præteritam quam etiam filii proventuram, amborumque cruentam in christos Domini, Sagiensem scilicet episcopum et Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, atrocitatem detestandam.

St. Bernard's prophecy of Henry, "He came "from the "devil and "will go to "the devil."

Nota.

De coronatione[1] regis istius vir quidam bonus et simplex de Wigorniæ partibus jacens in lecto doloris, parum antequam spiritum exhalaret, circumstantibus inquit: "Rex iste, qui nunc coronatur, per xxxv. annos "prope regnabit, sed non plene, pacemque servabit "minoribus[2] usque ad extrema sui tempora; exitus "autem ejus ignominiosus erit. Post ejus vero tem"pora, non longo temporum intervallo, væ[3] insulæ!"

Prophecy at Henry's coronation.

[1] *coronatione*] coronationis, MS.
[2] *minoribus*] so MS.; in omnibus, edd. Bouquet, Brewer.
[3] *væ*] ne, MS.

f. 167 b. Quod quidem ad tempus Johannis, [qui] longe atrocius cæteris tyrannis omnibus tam in sacerdotium quam regnum Anglicanum suis insanire diebus et debacchari, fas omne nefasque confundendo, plectibili temeritate præsumpsit, referri potest. Dictus etenim[1] Johannes (cujus utinam vita nominis interpretationi concordasset), quatinus hic vel in paucis anticipatio fiat, quoniam fratres egregios atque parentes in bonis æquiparare non potuit, puta, sicut annis inferior, sic animis amaris et actibus pravis longe deterior existens, non solum ipsos in malis, verum etiam in vitiis enormibus vitiosos[2] vincere cunctos et maxime tyrannos omnes, quos vel præsens ætas vel longævæ memoriæ recolere potuit antiquitas, detestandis pravæ tyrannidis actibus totis transcendere nisibus elaboravit.

John the worst of the family.

Illo nimirum in sceptris agente, immo revera furente, accidit in australis Kambriæ finibus et provincia maritima quæ terra Morgani vulgo vocatur, parum ante interdictum Angliæ tam diuturnum, quod viro cuidam bono et copiose litterato, cui nomen Mauricius, qui et frater fuit venerabilis abbatis de Neth Clementis, apparuit in visu persona militis cujusdam de partibus eisdem, longe ante defuncti, qui et in hujusmodi verba prorupit: "Magister Maurici, versum hunc "finias, 'Destruet hoc regnum rex regum.'" Cui ille respondisse sic videbatur: "Immo et tu, qui versum "fere perfecisti, finem apponas." Miles enim ille litteratus fuerat et, dum vixit, solebat sæpius alternis versibus, et nunc incipiendo nunc finiendo, sociali quadam recreatione tanquam colludendo conferre. Hoc autem dicto, miles subjecit: "Quoniam hebes es plus "solito senioque confectus, versus sic finiatur et perficiatur:—

Vision of one Maurice in Wales.

Nota.

"Destruet hoc regnum rex regum duplice plaga."

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[1] *Dictus etenim*] Dictus est enim, MS.

[2] *vitiosos*] vitiosis, MS.

Sed ecce, quam mira per visionem istam factam sequentis eventus præmunitio fuit. Parvo namque secuto tempore interdictum tam generale et tam exitiale totum Angliæ regnum incomparabili mœrore contristavit duplicemque persecutionis plagam, tam divinorum scilicet subtractionis quam bonorum in clero spoliationis, incussit. Potuit et ad hoc duplex plaga referri, quod duplici discrimine gravi non longe post tam regis exercitus quam Francorum cædibus et incendiis atque rapinis regnum destruxerunt. Dignum hic etiam id nota videtur, quod, quia barones Angliæ miseri dictum regem, seque suosque male regentem et ob hoc in Christi sponsam ecclesiamque sanctam tam atrociter insanientem, in nullo matris suæ miseriæ vel miserti vel compassi, compescere viriliter resistendo nolebant, dati sunt eidem et ipsi paulo post ultione per extraneos divina in exitialem et exterminabilem fere, [nisi] maturius remedium a Francis datum fuisset, destructionem.[1] Unde et omine infausto, quod interdicti tempore et persecutionis ecclesiæ, quando papam curiamque Romanam totam ad tyrannum exterminandum favorabilem habere potuerant et propitiam, aggressi non erant, ipso postmodum papæ reconciliato et vassallo quoque ecclesiæ Romanæ, causa procul dubio metus, effecto, discrete minus, quia longe difficilius et periculosius, aggressi fuerunt. Sed hæc hactenus; et nos ad materiæ seriem revertamur.

Its fulfilment by the interdict.

The barons of England only saved by the French from destruction.

f. 168.

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[1] *destructionem*] destructioni, MS.

Cap. XXIX.

De visionibus variis casum dicti regis[1] *Henrici* [*prænuntiantibus*].[2]

Visions forboding Henry's fate.

Visiones quoque tanti casus prævias ac prænuntias parum ante obitum ejusdem multi viderunt. Inter quos et mihi tunc curiam sequenti visum est, corpore regis quasi tunc mortui in ecclesiæ cujusdam alam sinistram nocte delato, subito corvorum cornicumque et monedularum volatu, qui quasi ex tanta luminariorum copia perterriti a receptaculis suis exsiliissent, lampades omnes in alto pendentes subito exstinctas et confractas in pavimentum corruisse; cerei quoque, quorum duo ad pedes stabant, avibus eisdem dejicientibus exstincti sunt. Duo vero, qui ad caput erecti fuerant, priusquam a circumstantibus teneri possent, per se in terram a candelabris elapsi, confracti sunt. Sic igitur exstinctis lucernis omnibus, nos, qui nocturnis exsequiis assistere videbamur, statim exeuntes, nec ordinate quidem, sed præpropere præque timore diffugientes, corpus ibidem solum, quasi immundis obsessum, præ timore pariter et horrore reliquimus, omnique humano prorsus solatio destitutum. Hanc autem visionem venerabili viro B[aldewino], Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, cum adhuc rege superstite quandoque, parum tamen ante mortem ejusdem, retulissem, et ipse mihi visionem, quam de eodem circa hæc eadem tempora viderat, explicavit. Visum enim erat ei quod, cum ecclesiam quandam intraret, invenit in ea corpus hominis mortui, quasi in feretro jacens; quod cum subito, non absque astantium timore, se supra cubitum erigeret, in verba prorumpens acriter, "Ubi sum," inquit, "et ubi jaceo?" Dumque responsum acciperet quod in ecclesia, subjecit,

Of the author.

Of archbishop Baldwin.

[1] *regis*] Ric', MS. The table of chapters (p. 224) has "casum "ejusdem."

[2] *prænuntiantibus*] om. MS.

"Locus in ecclesia non est mihi; proinde cito exportate me." Rejectoque panno quo velatus fuerat, apparuit esse rex Henricus. Archiepiscopus autem, illo exportato, quasi missam auditurus cum presbiteris jam intrasset, vidit altare nudum omnino et fissuram habens per medium amplam; et accedens propius vidit in ea egestiones quasi humanas et immunditias circa altare undique magnas. Quo viso, cum horrore pariter et rubore se retrahens, prospexit sacerdotem ecclesiæ illius ex altera parte stantem; quem ad se vocatum in hujusmodi verba convenit: "Tune es," inquit, "sacerdos qui in hoc loco ministras?" At ille, "Sum," inquit. "Quare ergo locum sacrum et altare Domini tam irreverenter et tam inhoneste custodis?" Respondit ille, "Domine, homo ille, quem nunc efferri vidistis, sic ecclesiam nostram dehonestavit." Archiepiscopus autem prohibuit ei ne citra honestam loci illius purgationem et reconciliationem amplius ibidem celebraret. Et vere homo ille suis diebus, quoad potuit, ecclesiam Dei in terris suis, privilegiis privando et dignitatibus detrahendo, quasi sordibus et immunditiis maculavit. f. 168 *b*. Nota.

Visionem quoque sancti Godrici heremitæ nobilis, cujus vita et conversatio borealis Angliæ fines nostris diebus illustravit, quoniam huic jam dictæ visioni ex parte non dissimilis erat, et hic apponere dignum duximus. Videbatur enim ei quod, cum ecclesiam quandam intrasset, vidit regem Henricum et quatuor filios suos adultos coram altari tanquam prostratos, qui et postea surgentes pallam altaris et lintheamina abstergere cœperunt et quasi pulverem excutere. Deinde super altare scandentes, a Crucifixi pedibus et tibiis pulverulenta detergebant. Demum vero super Crucifixum ascendentes ibique aliquamdiu sedentes, demum urinis et egestionibus altare undique, quod horribile dictu est, sordidabant. Nec mora, vidit regem cum duobus filiis suis, Ricardo scilicet et Johanne, deorsum coram altari cum strepitu grandi corruentes, Vision of St. Godric the hermit. Nota.

adeo ut minutatim confractos ibidem et miserabiliter vita privatos cum horrore conspiceret, aliis duobus in conspectu suo nusquam comparentibus.

Its meaning. Hanc etiam visionem suam bonus vir ipse sic exposuit, quod orare et altare et Crucifixi imaginem tergere videbantur, hoc quod pacem in terris suis pauperibus servare curabant; quod autem super altare scandebant et Crucifixum oppressionem ecclesiasticam per ipsos factam et faciendam designabat. Ruina vero regis et duorum filiorum post ipsum regnantium vindictam ab ipsis divinitus sumendam declaravit. Vixit autem bonus vir ille usque ad martyrium beati Thomæ et ultra: qui et, hoc audito, dixit, "Rex iste, "qui tyrannidem in ecclesiam Dei tantam exercet, "juxta visionem quam vidi, graviter corruet. Et filii "ipsius, maxime duo illi postea regnaturi, patrem tam "in culpa sequentur quam in pœna."

Another vision. Vir quidam in somno vidit, quasi duobus regibus in uno loco constitutis, regem Henricum subito personam induere tam despectam et contemptibilem, ut quasi in nani staturam exiguamque homunculi formam cunctis admirantibus jam decresceret. Philippum vero Francorum regem, tanquam ab Henrico rege in quoddam[1] castellum suum hospitandi gratia deductum, in tantam majestatem et tam excellentem staturæ proceritatem vidit excrescere, ut intuentibus cunctis venerabilis valde ac formidabilis haberetur. Qui, cum regem Henricum tam exiguum conspiceret, quasi digito protenso suis eum ostendens ait, "Estne iste homo, "cui terra relinqui debeat?"

Another vision. Visum est alii regem Henricum per vadum limosum equitantem, subito terra limoque desuper claudente, totum absorptum esse, limumque statim maximum et f. 169. nigerrimum emergere; qui cum demum multo[2] labore

[1] *quoddam*] quadam, MS.

[2] *multo*] multum, MS.; maximo cum, ed. Brewer.

extractus fuisset, sine capite repertus est. Dumque caput postmodum per se fuisset inventum, idque suo collo[1] jungere et aptare frustra, qui hæc vidit, elaboraret, a somno experrectus evigilavit.

Monachus quidam, ductus in spiritu, vidit quasi hominem paratum ad duellum; et, cum quæsisset ab angelo ductore quisnam esset ille, audivit quoniam Jesus erat. Et, cum ex alia parte videret alium similiter paratum, quæsito quis ille esset, audivit quoniam Henricus rex. Cumque congrederentur acrius, rex graves insultus faciendo demum visus est Dominum in fronte percutere, adeo ut sanguis per faciem deorsum manare videretur. Tunc autem monachus contristatus plurimum et consternatus exclamavit, "Vhe! "Vhe! auxiliemur Ei"; respondit ei angelus, "Non "est opus; exspecta parumper." Et statim Dominus elevans baculum ita regem percutiendo comminuit, ut ex ipso jam nihil omnino super terram compareret. Vision of a monk.

Cap. XXX.

De visione Willelmi regis Ruffi, quam ipse [vidit], et alia de ipso visa, similique morti suæ regis postea Ricardi morte secuta.

Visionem autem quam vidit Anglorum rex Willelmus, Willelmi Bastardi filius et matris Henrici secundi patruus, quem vulgus regem Ruffum vocavit, et hic explicare præter rem non putavi. Erat enim rex ille strenuus in armis et animosus, sed tyrannus, adeo militiam diligens ecclesiamque Dei exosam habens, ut monasteria cuncta domosque religiosas ab Anglis olim fundatas per Angliam et ditatas, cum terris omnibus et possessionibus, vel ex majori mutilare vel in militares feodos convertere proposuisset, dicens dimidium Vision seen by William Rufus.

[1] *collo*] toti, MS.

fere regni Anglicani religioni collatum esse idque totum ad coronæ defensionem, si necessitas ingrueret, nihil omnino vel parum suffragari.

On the fiscal revenues of England compared with foreign countries.

Nota.

Ad talia namque vel dicendum vel cogitandum, necnon effectui si possent mancipandum, principes perversos inducere potuit, quod Angliæ, regum Anglorum tempore et etiam penultimi Edwardi Westmonasteriensis diebus, annui fiscales redditus, sicut [in] rotulo Wintoniæ reperitur, ad sexaginta millium marcarum summam implebant; tempore vero regis Henrici secundi, tot terris interim militibus tam a rege Stephano prius, quam ab ipso postmodum, tum propter werras primum inter ipsos postmodum erga Franciam fere continuas, large utrimque datis, vix annui duodecim millium marcarum redditus fiscales sunt inventi. Quæri ergo potest ab aliquo, vel tacitum etiam quempiam movere, qualiter rex Henricus secundus et ejus filii tot inter werras tantis thesauris abundabant. Ad quæ ratio reddi poterit, quia, quod minus habebant in redditibus, totum in accidentibus, plus in accessoriis quam principalibus confidentes, supplere curabant. Totis enim f. 169 b. nisibus ibi rapinis insistitur, ubi quibuscunque modis res adquiritur; et, ne defectus in aliquo reperiatur, indesinenter et exquisite prædo grassatur. Hoc autem et hic notandum dedimus,[1] quod imperator Alemannicus trecentarum fere millium marcarum redditus annuos habet, cum tamen in utroque tam Theutonico quam Lotaringiæ et Burgundiæ regno prælati ecclesiastici urbes possideant fere cunctas. Respectu redditum et gazarum imperatoris Græci vel etiam regis Siculi ante utriusque, tam regni illius scilicet quam imperii, per Latinos destructionem modicum illud et quasi pro nihilo reputandum. Urbs etenim una Siciliæ, Palernica[2] scilicet, plus certi redditus regi Siculo sin-

[1] *dedimus*] MS.; duximus, edd. Bouquet, Brewer.

[2] *Palernica*] Palernici, MS.

gulis annis reddere solet, quam Anglorum regi nunc reddat Anglia tota.

Dictum autem regis Christianissimi Lodovici, patris scilicet regis Philippi, Normannorum mallei, memoratu dignum et hic apponere præter rem non putavi. In ejus namque præsentia de variis regum et imperatorum divitiis factus sermo[1] quandoque fuit, nulla prorsus de Francorum regno mentione[2] facta: veluti [de] Græcorum purpuris et pannis holosericis,[3] gemmis quoque pretiosis, cæterisque opulentiis ipsorum multis et magnis; de Siculorum gazis gemmisque, metallis tam rutilis scilicet quam tumulis,[4] quibus abundant copiosissimis; et Hispanensium, præter opes cæteras et auri pallentis copiam magnam, equis egregiis, quos[5] patria gignavit, et generosissimis. Item et de Alemannicis armatorum viribus, bellicosisque viris et robustis, deque multitudine gentium et fortitudine virorum,[6] experientiam solum ingrediendo cupientium, deque furore Teutonico, primo in præliis impetu vix tolerando, et Saxonibus longe[7] expeditissimis. Item et de pace[8] ferarum in Anglia et ferinæ copia tanta, silvestrique recreatione canumque simul tam cursu veloci quam vociferatione concordi aures et oculos delectante, deque metallo terræ illius tinnulo[9] argentique puteo vix exhauriendo, cujus tam hyatum[10] tantum et tam patulum tamque repletum tyrannica magis [vis] Normannorum extorsit,[11] quam ulla certorum fiscalium reddituum

Of the wealth of divers kingdoms.

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[1] *sermo*] sermonum, MS.

[2] *mentione*] mentio, MS.

[3] *holosericis*] obsericis, MS.

[4] *tumulis*] so MS., but the reading is probably corrupt. It should perhaps be "tinnulis," ringing, jingling, the same word which is used a few lines further down (timulo, MS.), where, however, it seems to have the unusual meaning of "tin," justifiable only as a play upon words. Brewer suggests here "tumulatis" or "cumulatis."

[5] *quos*] quo, MS.

[6] *virorum*] virium, MS.

[7] *longe*] longis, MS.

[8] *pace*] MS.; parcis, ed. Brewer.

[9] *tinnulo*] timulo, MS.

[10] *tam hyatum*] so MS.; dominatum, ed. Brewer. But the whole sentence down to "ulla" is incurably corrupt.

[11] *extorsit*] extorsi, MS

præbuit aut præbet etiam de cervicibus Anglorum pronis et modis omnibus in subjectionem et servitutem datis, et principis ad nutum sub quocunque discrimine semper servire paratis. Demum autem post verba hujuscemodi silentio facto, in sermonem hujusmodi rex prorupit, " Inter cætera vero regna de Francia quoque " nil dicetur!" Statimque subjungens, "Et nos certe " panem," inquit, "habemus et vinum et gaudium." Sed ecce, quam mirum[1] fuit hoc et quam mansuetum tanti principis verbum. Nihil enim de armatura Cisalpina, et maxime Gallicana, quæ tam formidabilis olim, ut referunt historiæ, Romanis; nil de strenua Francorum militia, cujus etiam hodie mundum universum exsuperat gloria; nil de cæteris multis quidem et magnis ipsorum tam naturæ quam industriæ donis ac dotibus, quibus incomparabili virtute præcellunt; quia nil arroganter, nil superbe, nil jactabunde, de gente sua vir pius et mitis emittere voluit.

Modest claim of Louis VII. for France.

f. 170.

Item et hoc[2] adjiciendum hic esse videtur, quod in curia regum Franciæ nil pompaticum, nil tyrannicum, quis videbit. Non enim armis tempore pacis latera stipant; exosi quippe suorum nullis diligi magis merentur a cunctis, non enim virgis aut baculis querulorum a se per marescallos et ministros arcent accessus. In promptu namque est ibi justitia, quia statim quidem et gratis exhibita, non venalis, ut alibi, vilique commercio sub Giezetico scelere damnabiliter exposita, et, quanquam res tam pretiosa tamque deifica, quam Deo consubstantialis et coæterna, tanto cum dedecore prostituta, de die tamen in diem gravi[3] semper cum morositate dilata.

Virtues of the French kings compared with others.

Item, terrarum principes alii, in omni sermone sacramentis enormibus utentes, per mortem Dei, per oculos, per pedes et dentes, per gorgiam atque strumellos, fatue nimis et indiscrete jurare præsumunt. Dumque

Their avoidance of blasphemous oaths.

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[1] *mirum*] mire, MS.
[2] *hoc*] hec, MS.
[3] *gravi*] gratiam, MS.

Deum tam temerarie sic membratim dilacerare contendunt, divinæ majestatis excellentiam digna debitaque devotione se neque vereri, nec revereri, patenter ostendunt. Hi vero, quoties uti sacramentis in loquendo decreverint, per sanctos Franciæ sub his simplicibus solum vel gentilibus[1] jurando verbis sermonem onerant et adornant, scientes quippe, et non verbis tantum, verum etiam cunctis propemodum actibus id astruentes, quoniam "qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat "confidenter." Prov. x. 9.

Item, non ut ursos inter subditos, quemadmodum quosdam vidimus, nec se gerunt ut leones. Affabiles enim se suis exhibentes et amabiles, quamvis sublimes in terris effecti, nec superbi tamen ob hoc nec elati, sed humilitate magis et mansuetudine præditi. Sciunt quidem et recognoscunt quoniam homines sunt, juxta illud sapientis eloquium: "Ducem te constituerunt, "noli extolli, sed esto in illis tanquam unus ex illis"; et illud, quod "quanto magnus es, humilia te in om-"nibus." Not "bears" or "lions," but courteous and amiable.

Item, principes plerosque vidimus, qui, cum bellicis eventibus aut alea quavis fortunæ secundæ prosperum quid aut laude dignum adepti fuerint, statim in superbiam elati nimiam, id brachio suo totum ascribunt. Hi vero in cunctis successibus suis nimiam clementiam laudant atque potentiam, soli Deo gratiam dant atque gloriam, quoties aliquid vel gratiosum egerint vel gloriosum. Modest in success.

Item, sunt et principes quidam nostris fuere diebus, qui jus et injuriam in omnibus æquiparantes et fas omne nefasque confundentes totumque quodlibet tanquam sibi licere putantes, nec justitiam subditis præstant, nec thoro maritali fidem ullam aut pudicitiam servant; sed in utroque palam et publice delinquentes præsumptione plectibili, tam facto quidem enormiter Just, and immaculate in morals.

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[1] *gentilibus*] genilibus, MS.; similibus, ed. Brewer.

peccant, quam exemplo. Horum autem et immaculatum copulæ legitimæ thorum laudabilis in principe castitas et pudicitia servat, et æquissima justitiæ trutina rectis regendi semitis et tanquam pretiosis undique gemmis insertis principalis excellentiæ thronum adornat et illustrat.

f. 170 *b.*

Do not gain power by violence, and leave it peaceably to their heirs.

Item, principes vidimus qui, non lineali propagine sibi invicem succedentes, sed per hysteron proteron potius, perque cædes suorum et strages propinquorum violentam adepti dominationem, cruentæ tyrannidis suæ et crudelitatis nimiæ talionem in terris ultione divina suscipiunt, perque sagittas atque balistas vel oppressiones bellicas et hostiles invasiones creberrimas innaturali plerumque morte decedunt,[1] perpetuam alibi pœnam in Gehennæ supplicio præstolantes, nec filiis aut nepotibus cæterisve propinquis male quæsita pejusque detenta, cuncta nimirum prave nimis et perverse gubernata, relinquunt. Hi vero, serie hæreditaria semper et jure naturali regna paterna consecuti, modum et modestiam ac misericordiam in subditos summo opere servant, et atrocitatem omnem atque sævitiam in regimine vitant; ideoque diu prospere simul et tranquille regnantes nutu divino, qui etiam in terris merita nonnunquam bona remunerat, honoris incrementa de die in diem ampliora suscipiunt, et decurso demum vitæ temporalis spatio, fine beato decedentes et æternam in cœlis retributionem de tam pio justoque regimine recipientes, filiis suis et hæredibus sua feliciter regna contradunt.

Their device, not a wild beast, but a flower.

Item, cum principes alii bestias atroces et voraces, ursos, pardos et leones, assimilari coram hominibus in apparentia cupientes[2] pictos in armis ob ferocitatis indicium præferant et vexillis, hi soli moralitate laudabili, sicut verbis et gestibus sic et actibus cunctis modum et modestiam sequi summo opere cupientes et

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[1] *decedunt*] accedunt, MS. | [2] *cupientes*] cupiunt, MS.

arrogantiam omnem atque superbiam vitare volentes, clypeos et vexilla cum cæteris armaturis simplicibus tantum gladioli flosculis signant et ornant.

Mirum igitur et præconiali memoria pariter et laude dignissimum, quod simplices hujusmodi flores his nostris diebus, ut et hic paucis anticipatio fiat, pardos vincere vidimus atque leones. Quæ videlicet bestiæ terribiles, mirandis quidem rerum eventibus, solum odore florum et Francorum afflatæ, statim in fugam ignave celeriterque,[1] nec respiciendo nec rebellando, sunt conversæ, speluncasque suas et cavernulas omnes solitaque latibula et cubilia cuncta, cum prædis innumeris et pascuis amplis ac latis, floribus et floriferis, inter ipsas belli primitias reliquere. Impletum hic igitur, sicut in aliis multis evidenter apparet, illud evangelicum et Veritatis ipsius quod falli non potest eulogium: "Qui se humiliat et exaltabitur, et qui "exaltat humiliabitur."

Before which the pard and the lion have turned tail.

Matt. xxiii. 12.

Item, fuere modernis his nostris diebus et finibus principes quidam, qui, bello tanquam indicto semper in ea quæ Dei sunt manus avidas atque rapaces extendentes, Christi sponsam, quam Ipse sibi pro salute fuso sanguine comparavit,[2] nulla prorsus in terris suis fungi libertate sustinuerunt. Ideoque terribili cunctis exemplo divinitus indulto, modo ultionis exquisitissimo, prole propria sed prave suscepta statimque in parentes atrociter armata, continua fere finalique persecutione puniri, perque potentes de Pippini Karolique germine felici desuper ultores denique datos[3] a terris eisdem, in quibus Deum honorari debitoque de jure non permiserunt, ignominiose nimis et ærumnose tanquam talione suscepta stirpitus[4] [expelli] promeruerunt. Utinam a terra viventium sicut et morientium, a terra vitali sicut et pœnali sive letali, a terra quam

They are rewarded, while others have been fitly punished.

f. 171.

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[1] *ignave celeriterque*] ignavi scelerit quia, MS.

[2] *comparavit*] et paravit, MS.

[3] *datos*] datus, MS.

[4] *stirpitus*] strepitus, MS.

quærimus illa sicut et terra quam terimus ista, meritis per omnia pravis damnabiliter expelli non meruissent. Hi vero, in regnis suis ea quæ Dei sunt Deo devote reddentes, et jura ecclesiastica suis tractanda prælatis et dispensanda, cum dignitatibus et libertatibus cunctis integra et illibata, relinquentes, tam hic quam alibi mercede suscepta, et honoris in terris incrementa perampla et in cœlis post vitæ temporalis spatia coronæ triumphalis præmia pro tam justo pioque regimine consequi merentur æterna.

The lands of the wicked transferred by God's judgment to the pious.

Non igitur immerito, nec absque evidentissimo justitiæ cœlestis judicio, terræ tyrannorum tam pravorum tamque per omnia perversorum, quales hic prænotati præscriptique fuerunt, ad manus piorum principum et benignorum, cunctaque per orbis climata laude dignorum, quorum et hic quoque mores ac modos ex parte depinximus, divina dispositione, quæ tam[1] bonis quam malis interdum etiam in terris digna retribuit, viribus et armis jam devenerunt. Et sicut in Francorum regno, sic et in Anglicano proculdubio devenissent, si debitam istis sicut et illis juxta fidem et promissionem ecclesiis pacem et reverentiam exhibuisset. Sed hæc hactenus.

The New Forest made by William Rufus.

Porro ut ad regem Ruffum post digressiones non inutiles revertamur, hic quoque Novam in australibus Angliæ partibus Forestam, quæ usque hodie durat, primus[2] instituit; multis ibidem ecclesiis, in quibus divina ab antiquo celebrari obsequia et ipsius præconia sublimari [solebant], desertis omnino et destitutis, multisque ruricolis et glebæ ascriptis a paternis laribus et agris avitis[3] miserabiliter profugatis et proscriptis.

His vision before his death.

Videbatur igitur ei nocte quadam in somnis, cum forestam illam, quam præ cæteris Angliæ plus dilexit, mane venandi studio adire parasset, quod ecclesiam

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[1] *quæ tam*] quedam, MS.
[2] *primus*] primis, MS.
[3] *avitis*] auctis, MS.

quandam intraret, quam [vidit] adeo pulchram et decenter ornatam, aulæis historicis et pretiosis Græcorum palliis, pannis holosericis et purpureis undique vestitam, textis philacteriis et feretris auro et ebore distinctis gemmisque fulgentibus, qualem antea non viderat, insignitam. Quibus cum admiratione consideratis, cum paulo post respiceret, vidit ecclesiam eandem, tam circa parietes quam altare, ex toto nudatam cunctisque, quibus illustrata fuerat, destitutam. Respiciens autem tertio, vidit hominem nudum super f. 171 *b.* altare jacentem extensum. Quem cum intuitus fuisset, de carnibus ejusdem statim comedere non mediocriter esurivit. Ferrum igitur exserens, quo cingi consueverat, ad pedes accessit. Cumque secare frusta [1] [et] separare jam pararet tam atrociter ipsum, vir ille respondit cum his verbis: "Non satis est tibi quod "me tantis hactenus molestationibus infestasti, nisi et "carnes meas comedas et ossa corrodas." Unde et præ timore pariter et horrore a stratu clamans exsiliit, statimque pro episcopo quodam, qui curiam forte tunc sequebatur, mittens, visionem ei totam enarravit. Quam et episcopus ei incontinenti fideliter exposuit in hunc modum: "Ecclesia, rex, quam [2] adeo pulchram "et ornatam vidisti, ecclesia fuit regni tui priusquam "regnares, quæ divitiis omnibus et opulentiis, dignitatibus et privilegiis, abundabat. Quod autem nudam "postea vidisti, statum ecclesiæ regni tui, te regnante, "designat, quam pro posse depauperasti et, quantum "in te propositoque tuo fuit, opulentiis olim fidelium "largitione collatis ex toto nudasti. Homo vero quem "super altare vidisti corpus Jesu fuit, quod una cum "ecclesia sua consumere gloriamque ipsius exstinguere "proposuisti. Terribilis autem illa facta respiciendo "comminatio formidabilis proculdubio est, ut resipiscas, "commonitio; quod nisi maturius egeris, timendum "tibi, rex, ne iram ejus incurras exterminantem."

A bishop interprets it.

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[1] *frusta*] frustra, MS. | [2] *quam*] quem, MS.

He neglects the warning, and is killed by a chance bolt.

Et cum episcopus consilium ei daret quatinus, convocatis illico episcopis regni sui et clero universo, eorundem consilio se Domino per omnia conciliaret, missisque statim nuntiis venerabilem sanctumque virum Anselmum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, quem ea tempestate, quia libertates ecclesiæ tueri volebat, exulare compulerat, ab exilio revocaret, respondit[1] rex se cum regni sui proceribus consilium inde in brevi habiturum. Et protinus contra dissuasionem in prædictam forestam, ubi tot ecclesias destituerat totque[2] fideles, qui glebæ ibidem ab antiquo ascripti fuerant, immisericorditer exhæredaverat, venatum ivit. Nec mora, soluta per interemptionem contentione ubi deliquit, casuali cujusdam suorum ictu sagittæ letaliter percussus decubuit. Miles enim directo in feram telo, nutu divino cœlum pariter et telum regente, non feram eo sed ferum et absque modo ferocem transpenetravit.

Nota.

The prior of Dunstable's vision.

Fuit et alia quoque de eodem visio notabilis, quia præmunitus a Domino et præmonitus, qui magis conversionem appetit peccatoris[3] quam eversionem, longeque magis ut vivat emendatus quam ut intereat obstinatus, desiderium habens. Visum est enim in somno priori de Dunestaple quod a viro quodam venerandi vultus ductus esset ad locum amœnum valde, ubi in aula quadam regia visus est sibi videre quasi principem in throno sedentem cum collateralibus duodecim et aliis multis mira venustate et decore præfulgentibus. Vidit et mulierem astantem pulcherrimam, lacrimabilem querimoniam de Willelmo rege Ruffo principi deponentem, et vestes suas et indumenta, quæ pretiosa fuerant et venusta, quasi dissipata nunc ab ipso et dilacerata, coram omnibus ostendentem. Et, ecce, vir quidam niger et hispidus quinque sagittas principi præsentavit, quas et ipse reponi jussit, dicens per unam illarum injurias mulieris illius die crastina vindicandas.

Nota.

f. 172.

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[1] *respondit*] respondens, MS.
[2] *totque*] totoque, MS.
[3] *peccatoris*] pectoris, MS.

Quibus ita visis et auditis, eductus est ab aula canonicus ille; et [cum] quæreret a duce suo quisnam esset princeps ille, et quæ mulier illa, respondit ei dux ejus quod Christus erat, cum apostolis et cæteris assessoribus et familiaribus suis; mulier autem ecclesia fuit, quæ per unam sagittarum illarum, quas præsentari vidit, in crastino proculdubio, nisi rex resipuerit ille, vindicabitur. Et statim experrectus a somno surrexit, quasi post horam noctis mediam, et, equis illico paratis versus Novam Forestam ad regem præmuniendum, non[1] equis parcens nec calcaribus, mutatis etiam crebrius equitaturis, acceleravit, eumque circiter horam diei primam, ubi in dictam forestam venatum ire parabat, invenit. Quem statim ut rex venientem vidit, exclamavit se causam adventus ejus non ignorare; et præcepit illico quadraginta marcas ei donari. Qui enim alias per Angliam ecclesias pro posse destruebat, ecclesiam de Dunstaple sumptibus suis construi fecit et tam locum illum præ cæteris, quam prioris quoque personam, diligebat. Prior autem cum

He tells it to William, but without avail

responderet se ob aliud nunc venisse majoremque veniendi causam et urgentiorem habere, seorsum statim rege vocato dictaque secretius ei visione per ordinem tota, monuit ut in forestam tunc nullatenus iret, sed incontinenti se Deo reconciliaret, et erga ecclesiam Dei se protinus emundaret. Et, ecce, nondum sermone finito, vir quidam, simillimus illi quem sagittas præsentantem in somno viderat, quinque sagittas, tales quales in somno viderat, regi præsentavit, quas illico

The king is shot by Ralph de Aquis.

militi tradidit, cui nomen Radulphus de Aquis, ad ferendum secum in forestam, priore quantum potuit et dissuadente nec prævalente. Unde et ab eodem milite continenter in silva una sagittarum illarum arcu missa rex perforatus interiit, iram quippe veri regis illius et cuncta regentis vindicem sentiens, cujus acutæ sagittæ minæque[2] et falli nequeunt et retror-

[1] *non*] quam, MS.

[2] *minæque*] nimisque, MS.

Nota. sum non abeunt, nec vacuæ revertuntur, cujus etiam ab arcus facie nec fugere reprobi commode possunt nec effugere. De quibus et ad quos Psalmista commonitoria quidem et comminatoria scribens et hunc versum præmittens ait: "Deus judex justus, fortis et "patiens, numquid irascetur per singulos dies? Nisi "conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit; arcum "suum tetendit et paravit illum. Et in eo paravit "vasa mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit." "Cum "enim fregerunt arma ferrea, irruent," ut ait Job, "in arcum æneum."[1]

Ps. vii. 12-14.

His death compared with that of Richard I.

f. 172 b.

Ut etiam ad majorem evidentiam et similium convenientiam quodammodo nunc quædam anticipemus, comes Ricardus, patri succedens in regnum et rex effectus, tyrannica quoque suis diebus superbia tumens, sicut ille in sagitta, ita et hic in balista, qua nimis atrociter nimisque frequenter abuti solet, vindicem iram offendit. Unde et a quodam metrice dictum est:—

Christe, tui calicis prædo fit præda Calucis[2];
Ære brevi deicis, qui tulit æra crucis.

Cap. XXXI.

De finalibus quibusdam ad prioris evidentiam adjectionibus.

General reflexions on the fate of tyrants.

Tales sunt igitur exitus tyrannorum et tam cruenti, sicut in prima Distinctione plurima veterum docent exempla. In principio florent et in omne cordis desiderium, ut qui in sordibus sunt sordescant amplius, laxis habenis efferuntur; in fine vero vindice dextera misere succumbunt, et tanquam flores verni, quos

---

[1] *Cum enim . . . æneum*] Fugiet arma ferrea, et irruet in arcum æneum, Job xx. 24.

[2] *Calucis*] Châlus, in the Limousin, the castle Richard was besieging when he met his death.

Zephyri Favoniique favor ad tempus eduxerant, Boreæ subito Circiique flatibus emarcescunt. Patet igitur ex præmissis quia, cui plus committitur, et plus ab eo exigitur. Patet quoque quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior. Patet quia qui longanimis exspectator, idem gravissimus est et ultor. Patet, inquam, quia quos divina clementia diu, ut convertantur, tolerat, non conversos gravius damnat. Potentes enim potenter tormenta patientur, et fortioribus fortior instat cruciatio; judicia quippe Domini abyssus multa. Nullus regum Normannorum, cum usque ad hæc nostra tempora jam sex vel septem elapsi fuerunt, vitam laudabili fine terminavit. Sicut autem bonorum vita bonis recitanda est ad imitandum, sic et malorum interdum tam malis quam bonis ad evitandum. Virtus enimvero, ut ait Boetius, sese diligit aspernaturque contraria; nec potest malum vitari nisi cognitum. Unde et illud sapientis eulogium:

Nota.

No Norman king had a good end.

"Erudiunt plerumque bonos exempla malorum."

Nec solum principes,[1] quanquam principi tamen præcipue titulus conveniat, sed etiam prælati, nec non et privati quilibet, hic invenient, tam per exempla quam præcepta, et quod fugere debeant et quod sequi. Longum enim iter est, ut ait Jeronymus, per præcepta, commodum autem et compendiosum per exempla. Bonum est igitur alieno in malo fugienda intueri. Indemnis quippe est castigatio, quam prædocent exemplaria:

"Felix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum."[2]

Quoniam, ut ait Ennodius, "ruina præcedentium posteros docet, et cautio est semper in reliquum, lapsus anterior."

Libellum itaque de Principis Instructione toties promissum nostra diligentia, prout in tanta terrarum

The author's book at last finished, in troubled times.

[1] *principes*] principi, MS.

[2] *cautum*] tantum, MS.

turbatione tantaque temporis tempestate potuit, exaravit. Plangunt etenim proceres, suspirant pontifices, luget, proh dolor, ecclesia Dei, non solum exteriori possessione, verum etiam calicibus, textis, crucifixis, phylacteriis et ornamentis, ab antiquo ad Christi solum obsequia fidelium largitione[1] collatis, tanquam paganica rabie spoliata. Et, ut brevi eloquio nostri temporis,
f. 173. immo tempestatis, forma describatur, vacat his diebus potentibus opprimere, prioribus rapere, privatis perdere, miseris flere. Propter duorum etenim hominum invidiam duo regna rapinis innumeris et inauditis exactionibus exponuntur. Qualiter autem et per quem hæc exorta fuerit invidia, unde tanta et tam inexorabilis inter magnos mota est discordia, per quem etiam terra sacra cassato fidelium labore non recuperata, et quem finaliter effectum hæc contentio sit habitura, quem etiam exitum Normannica regum prosapia sive superstes, sive futura, consequi debeat, ampla currendi novis historicis area patet. Qualiter etiam catulum tyrannicum, cruentissimis a tyrannis parentaliter exortum ipsumque tyrannorum omnium tyrannissimum, felicium et naturalium felix prosapia regum (quorum sub regimine justo regnandique moderamine pio, sub tranquillo pacis ac libertatis gaudio, Franciæ quidem tam regnum floruisse dinoscitur quam sacerdotium) divina dispositione pariter et ultione nostris victoriosissime diebus [potuit] triumphare duoque regna vel tria sub unica monarchia potentissime conglutinare; qualiterque, post tam nubila tempora tantæque potestatis ingruentis incommoda, demum regno Anglicano, pulsis nubibus et nebulis, dies serenus illuxit, occiduaque mundi climata, sub insulari tyrannide tanto tempore pressa, post servitutis diutinæ jugum importabile, plenam denique liberationem præstans ac libertatem,

He leaves the task of carrying on the history to others.

[1] *largitione*] largitionem, MS.

oculo benigniore pietatis superna respicere tam vehementer ac desideranter et sperabatur et exspectabatur; et quas ob causas, Deo indignante et injurias ecclesiæ suæ contra fidem et promissionem irrogatas graviter vindicante, spes ad effectum provenire non potuit—studiosis, inquam, animis ista describendo laudem præmiumque merendi, quoniam "non omnia possumus "omnes," locum præbere dignum duximus.

EXPLICIT LIBER DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE. AMEN.

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On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and con-"venient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, "would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to "the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House "therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased "to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for "the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, "and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this "purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

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1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the monastery from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074. It notices many facts not found in other writers.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu

Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* RICHARD HOWLETT, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of St. Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. The second volume contains materials found since the first volume was published.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire from the election of Henry I. the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the first half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V.

12. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. *Edited by* Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom.

14. A Collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "Opus Tertium," "Opus Minus," &c., of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. The annals were probably written by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V.–VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. Vol. VIII. *Edited by* George F. Warner, M.A., of the Department of MSS., British Museum. 1861–1891.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable for the anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to mediæval literature, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland, the first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. A very interesting portion of this treatise devoted to the animals of Ireland shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise "De Principum Instructione," and an index to Vols. I.–IV. and VIII.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner. 1861–1863.

The papers are derived from the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste. *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III. but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259–1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I. and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui sæculo xv^mo^ floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

Richard of Cirencester was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ* in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I.; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Barrister-at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14, 14, and 14–15 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1889.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia. 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham, domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh. Bishop Hugh's consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaignea present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV., 1431–1443. Vol. V., 1443–1461. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1884–1891.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Waurin. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vols. I. and II.) *Edited and translated by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1887.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.–IX. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* the Rev. John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I.–III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited by* Edward Edwards. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," muchi nformation relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the earliest times to 1135; and Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150.

47. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest Period to the Death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. *Edited, with a Translation, by* the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169–1192, known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. Munimenta Academica, or, Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev Henry Anstey, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

51. Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. Hamilton, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122.

53. Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, from the Archives of the City of Dublin, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* John T. Gilbert, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty, with Appendices, Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI.:—Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Edited by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Beckynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time.

58. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria.—The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

The first portion is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII., from original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* tho Rev. William Campbell, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

61. Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers. *Edited by* the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311–1316. Vols. I–IV. *Edited by* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873–1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

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65. Thómas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall, the "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to him, and other pieces.

67. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard, LL.D. 1885.

This publication comprises all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

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The first volume of these Chronicles contains the "Annales Londonienses" and the "Annales Paulini:" the second, I.—Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi. II.—Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi. III.—Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita, Edwardi II. IV.—Vita et Mors Edwardi II., conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.

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81. Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, et opuscula duo de Vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam Miraculis ejus. *Edited by* the Rev. Martin Rule, M.A. 1884.

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Vol. III. contains the "Gesta Stephani Regis," the Chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the "Relatio de Standardo" of St. Aelred of Rievaulx, the poem of Jordan Fantosme, and the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes.

Vol. IV. contains the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni.

83. Chronicle of the Abbey of Ramsey. *Edited by* the Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington, Oxon. 1886.

This Chronicle forms part of the Chartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey, preserved in the Public Record Office (*see* No. 79).

84. Chronica Rogeri de Wendover, sive Flores Historiarum. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* Henry Gay Hewlett, Keeper of the Records of the Land Revenue. 1886–1889.

This edition gives that portion only of Roger of Wendover's Chronicle which can be accounted an original authority.

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The Letters printed in these volumes were chiefly written between the years 1296 and 1333. Among the most notable writers were Prior Henry of Eastry, Prior Richard Oxenden, and the Archbishops Raynold and Meopham.

86. The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester. *Edited by* William Aldis Wright, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Parts I. and II., 1887.

The date of the composition of this Chronicle is placed about the year 1300. The writer appears to have been an eye witness of many events which he describes. The language in which it is written was the dialect of Gloucestershire at that time.

87. Chronicle of Robert of Brunne. *Edited by* Frederick James Furnivall, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Parts I. and II. 1887.

Robert of Brunne, or Bourne, co. Lincoln, was a member of the Gilbertine Order established at Sempringham. His Chronicle is described by its editor as a work of fiction, a contribution not to English history, but to the history of English.

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89. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other documents relating to that Saint. *Edited by* Whitley Stokes, LL.D., D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Parts I. and II. 1887.

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